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REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1945

The award of five scholarships by the Ministry of Education of the National Government of China under the Sino-Indian Cultural Studies scheme made it possible to strengthen the Research Staff of the Cheena-Bhavana from the beginning of the present year. Under this scheme were appointed—one Senior Research Fellow and Director of Research Studies, two Research Fellows, two Junior Research Fellows and four Research Scholars. There were besides three Chinese scholars already working in the Cheena-Bhavana.

Research conducted in the Cheena-Bhavana during the year 1945 may be broadly divided under two heads: Buddhistic and Historical. *Buddhistic Studies* include:—(1) the restoration either into English or Sanskrit of the ancient Chinese translations of Buddhist texts, of which the Sanskrit originals are now lost; (2) critical editions of Pali and Sanskrit texts with the help of the Chinese translations when available and (3) comparisons of different versions of the same Sanskrit or Pali texts with the help of Chinese and other materials with a view to restore the archetypes of such texts if possible. *Historical Studies* include:—(1) study of ancient and medieval Chinese accounts of India which throw light on the political and cultural history of India; (2) study and translation of ancient Chinese Buddhist accounts of India and (3) study and translation of non-Buddhistic historical and geographical texts in Chinese bearing on India, Central Asia and China.

Buddhistic Studies

1. *Restoration and Translation*—Pandit Aiyaswami Sāstri restored into Sanskrit a treatise on Logic named *Karatalaratna* with critical notes and introduction. It is an important work of the famous Buddhist scholar, Bhāvaviveka, who lived in the 6th century. The work long lost is preserved

only in a Chinese translation. Mr. Sāstri is also engaged in a similar restoration of another important text of Buddhist philosophy named *Tattvasiddhi*. The author of the work, Hari-varman, lived in the 4th century. The work is preserved in a Chinese translation of the 5th century. Rev. Shanti Bhikshu has restored into Sanskrit another text which was long lost in original. It is the *Bodhicittotpāda-sūtra-śāstra* of Vasubandhu. It is a work on Buddhist philosophy which is preserved in a Chinese translation of the beginning of the 4th century A.D.

Mr. Satiranjan Sen translated into English two medical texts of which the Sanskrit originals were lost. They are only preserved in old translations. His critical study of the texts shows that at least one of them represented a school different from the Caraka and the Suśruta. Mr. Sen is at present engaged in the study of the section on medicine (*bhaiṣajya*) of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, now preserved in Chinese translation. Mr. Amitendranath Tagore translated a number of Jātaka stories from Chinese *Tripiṭaka* of which the original is lost. He is engaged in the translation of other stories. His work when completed will add to our knowledge of the Jātaka lore. Mr. Prahlad Pradhan has translated a chapter of the Vinaya of Dharmaguptaka school from its Chinese translation. The original work is now lost. Mr. Pradhan is continuing his work and intends to translate the whole Vinaya. Mr. Sujit Mukherjea has prepared a translation of the Chinese version of a Dhyāna text attributed to Kumārajīva and is now engaged in restoring a treatise of *Vijñānavāda* translated into Chinese by Paramārtha.

2. *Critical editions of text*— Dr. P. V. Bapat has undertaken two important works in hand. There is a Chinese translation of a lost Sanskrit work called *Arthavārgīya-sūtra*. It corresponds roughly to the Pali *Atthakavagga*, but still there are important differences between the two. Dr. Bapat has already translated the first half of the Chinese text, compared

it with the Pali *Āṭṭhakas* and made a critical comparison of the two. The other work undertaken by him is a study of the Chinese Translation of the Pali text—the *Sāmantapāsādika* which is Buddhaghosa's commentary of the *Vinayapiṭaka*. Dr. Bapat is preparing a critical edition of the Pali text after instituting a thorough comparison between the Chinese version and the Pali text.

Mr. Sujit Mukherjea prepared a critical edition of the *Vajrasūci* with the help of available manuscript materials and its ancient Chinese translation. Mr. Prahlad Pradhan is also preparing a critical edition of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* of Asanga, a philosophical work of the greatest importance. He discovered the manuscript in the collection of the Bihar Research Society, Patna. There are Chinese and Tibetan translations of the text to help him with the necessary critical apparatus.

3. *Comparative Studies*— Rev. Pannasiri is engaged in making a comparative study of the different versions of the *Sigālovāda suttanta*, a Buddhist text of great importance. There are four different Chinese translations of the text, besides the Pali version. Rev. Pannasiri has already rendered three of the four Chinese versions into English and is engaged in comparing the different versions with a view to restore the ancient *Sigālovāda Sutta*.

Mr. Fa Chow made a comparative study of the existing Sanskrit version of the *Avadānaśataka* and its ancient Chinese translation and collected important materials which throw light on the original version of the text. Mr. Fa Chow is at present engaged in a comparative study of the different *Prātimokṣa* texts in Pali, Sanskrit and Chinese.

Historical Studies

Dr. P. C. Bagchi, in collaboration with Mr. Hasiao-ling Wu, has translated a number of Chinese records bearing on the relations between China and Bengal and Jaunpur. The study of

the records has helped him in clearing some of the chronological tangles in the history of Bengal, of the 15th century. Dr. Bagchi has also collected and translated several sections of the Ancient Chinese Annals which contain materials for the history and geography of India during the first few centuries of the Christian era. He is also engaged in translating a Chinese account of India, *She-kia-fang-che* 'the Land of the Śākyas' which was compiled by Tao-siuan in the 7th century A. D. It is a systematic geography of Central Asia and India compiled from the Buddhist point of view and forms an indispensable complement to the famous account of Hsuan-tsang. The English translation is nearing completion and it will be ready for publication with annotations and notes early next year.

Dr. Bagchi and Mr. Hsiao-ling Wu have taken up the study of a text of Chinese geography entitled *Shuei king chu* the 'Book of Rivers' with a commentary. It is a typical Chinese text of geography compiled in the 3rd century A. D. The commentary was compiled in the 5th century. The first chapter of the text has been already translated by the scholars. It throws considerable light on the geography of Central Asia, North-Western India and North-Western China and deals with all the courses of rivers in great details. This work also will be ready for publication early next year.

Work of the Chinese Scholars

The Chinese scholars attached to the Cheena-Bhavana are continuing their studies of the Indian languages and literatures. Mr. Hsiao-ling Wu has made considerable progress in his study of Sanskrit drama. He has completed his translation of the *Abhijñāna Śakuntalam* into Chinese and is at present engaged in translating the *Mṛcchakaṭikam*. Mrs. H. L. Wu has also made great progress in her Bengali studies. She has completed her translations of *Kheyā* and *Caturāṅga* and is at present engaged in the translation of some of the modern short stories. Rev. Pai Wei is continuing his study of Sanskrit and

Hindi and is at present engaged in writing some articles on the Sanskrit texts preserved in China. Mr. Fa Chow has taken up Pali Studies and is engaged in translating the Pali *Itivuttakas* into Chinese.

Miscellaneous

In this connection mention may be made of the efforts made by our scholars in producing popular works. Mr. Sujit Mukherjea has prepared a Bengali translation of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Sāntideva. Rev. Shanti Bhikshu has translated the same text into Hindi. Both the translations are now ready for publication. Mr. Amitendranath Tagore has translated a number of Chinese poems and short stories into Bengali and they are ready for publication in a handy volume.

P. C. BAGCHI

The first Parajika of the Dharmaguptaka-Vinaya and the Pali Sutta-Vibhanga

Introduction

The Dharmaguptaka school of Buddhism was once much popular in India and outside and it is much referred to in the Buddhist Literature. But now it is extinct and there is much speculation about its origin, original form and nature. As in the case of so many other schools, the original of its literature is lost and it is extant only in Chinese translation. It occupies an important position in the evolution and history of Buddhism. Therefore, I propose to compare the version of the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Dharmaguptaka school preserved in Chinese¹ with the Pali Vibhaṅga of the Theravāda school. I shall take up the first Pārājika to start with.

The first Pārājika of the Dharmaguptaka school in Chinese begins with an account of Sulabha country, where Lord Buddha was moving. From there he went to Verañjā with oft-mentioned 500 monks and the first story of the Brahmin of Verañja begins. From here, the Theravāda school begins and it has no reference to 'Sulabha' country.

In the Pali version, the tree under which Buddha was staying, was Naleru Picumanda and Picumanda means, according to Buddhaghosa, Nim (Mergosom) tree. But in the Chinese version, it is Naleru Picu Mandāra. But it is doubtful, whether there was any Mandāra variety, which was called Picu.

As regards enumeration of epithets of Buddha, there is a little difference. In Chinese, the epithets are enumerated as follows:—

1 Dharmagupta-vinaya—which in Chinese is called the 'Vinaya-piṭaka in four sections' (*Sseu-fen liu*) was translated by the Kashmirian Buddhist Scholar, Buddhayaśas, in collaboration with Chu Fo-nien in the beginning of the 5th century A.D. (408-412 A.D.), cf. Nanjio 1117; Taisho 1428; Shanghai ed. XV. 3-6.

(i) Tathāgata, (ii) Anāsakta (unattached), (iii) Samyak-sambuddha, (iv) Vidyācaraṇa-sampanna, (v) Sugata, (vi) Lokavid, (vii) Anuttara Puruṣa-damya-sārathi, or Anuttara Puruṣa, and (viii) Puruṣadamya-sārathi, (viii or ix) Deva-maṇuṣyāṇām Śāstā, (ix or x) Buddha and (x) Bhagavān. But in Pali, Tathāgata is not mentioned. In Chinese, we have 'Not-attached' Anāsakta) and in Pali Arhan. But 'not-attached' may be a translation of Arhan. The rest are identical.

In Pali, the word 'Loka', world, is given and it has an adjective 'with gods and men'. But in Chinese we get only 'in the midst of' and do not get any corresponding word for it.

Then a great dissimilarity follows. In Chinese, we see that the greeting was mutually exchanged by the Brahmin and Lord Buddha. There is no question of Buddha's not paying any respect to any Brahmin or to any superior. Then it is said, "The Lord in numerous ways spoke to him the Dharma", a common phrase...*anekapariyāyena* but nothing is given in detail. But in Pali, after the greetings by Brahmin the talk was opened by him, putting the question to Lord Buddha whether the Buddha did not pay respect to the old, aged, great Brahmins, which was not desirable. In reply, the Buddha also said, "I do not see anybody in this whole universe to whom I should pay respect. If I shall pay respect to anybody, his head will fall down". Then in long passages he proved his own superiority, justified his position and taught him the Dharma. At the end, the Brahmin was convinced, accepted the superiority of the Buddha, praised him in so many words, took refuge in the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha and invited him with all the 500 monks for Vassāvāsa. But the Chinese version has not even the remote reference to it. Here, after having heard Buddha speaking and getting pleasure, he invites the Buddha for summer residence.

In Pali it is always, Vassā or rainy residence, but in Chinese, it is always 'summer residence for three months or 90 days'. This is so, probably because the months in which Vassāvāsa is observed and are called rainy season here in India, are summer season in China.

In Chinese, the horse-dealer came from Po-li country to Verañja and was staying there in the rainy season, but in Pāli he came from 'Uttarāpathaka' a general term for Northern India. In Pali, it is said that as there was famine in Verañja, the monks did not get food by begging and went to the camp of the horse-dealer. But in Chinese, it is said, "though the Brahmin invited the monks, he could not supply food due to famine, and so they did not get anything by begging in Verañja and then they went to the place of the horse-dealer. In Chinese it is said that he thought and decided to give, but in Pali, there is no reference to thinking, simply it was announced¹ or allotted (paññattam).

In Chinese, the cause of famine is attributed to Māra Pāśa or snares of Māra and said "all this is done by Māra Pāśa", but in Pali, the cause of famine is not attributed to any agent.

In Pali, the horse-dealer proposed to give *Pattha Pattha mūlakam*. But *mūlakam* may mean some root, which does not give any better meaning. But in place of *mūlakam*, Buddhaghosa in his Samanta-pāsādikā, gives the reading as '*pulakam*' and explains it as the rice of barley, husked and boiled¹. In Chinese version we have horse-wheat. From the commentary of Buddhaghosa also it appears that the alms given to the monks was from the share of the morning food of the horses. The only difference seems to be that one is unhusked, unboiled horse-wheat and the other is husked boiled barley rice.

But as regards measurement, there is clear difference. In Pali it is 'Pattha-pattha-pulakam' or one 'Prastha' (seers ?) to each monk and the Buddha without any distinction; but in Chinese, 5 *shengs* to a monk and one *tou* (10 shengs) to Buddha. This agrees with the old tradition of keeping the distinction of the Buddha, as in other matters like the measurement of the body, foot, cloth, etc.

In preparation of food also there is a difference. In Chinese the horse-wheat is 'ground into dry food' for the Buddha and

¹ *Pulakam nāma nitthusam katvā ussedetvā gahita yavatāndulā vuccanti.*

it is boiled by the monks for themselves. But in Pali, 'grinding on stone-slab' is spoken of for the Buddha and 'husking in a husking-machine' for monks. Further, taking the plea of husking sound, Buddha put the question to Ananda and approved of the food; but in Chinese, we have no reference to Buddha's question or approval.

As regards talk between Maudgalyāyana and the Buddha in connection with the famine, we get two different versions. In Chinese, it is said, there is famine at Verañja, Maudgalyāyana requested the Buddha to allow the monks having superhuman power to go to Yu-tan-yue (Uttarāpatha) so that they might be able to get fine rice to eat. Then again being asked by the Buddha, 'what about those not having superhuman powers', he said, 'let those having magic power be allowed to go there and I shall with my magic power take those who have not magic power'. But he was silenced by the Buddha with a reference to future monks who would not possess magic power.

But in Pali, Moggallāna says to the Buddha, "There is severe famine here, and the lower part of the world is very prosperous, therefore I want to turn it down-side up so that the monks will be able to take "Pappatakoja." Then being asked by the Buddha, "What will happen to the creatures living on this part of the earth—at the time of turning down?", Moggallāna said, "I shall stretch (extend) one of my hands (palms) just like the great earth, so that all the creatures may remain there and with the other hand, I shall turn down the world". Then the Buddha dissuades him from doing that as there will be disorder among the creatures.

Then again Moggallāna requested the Buddha at least to allow the monks to go to Uttarākuru, but that also was not granted, without giving any reason.

Then the question of Sāriputra to the Buddha comes about Buddha, whose Brahmacarya remained long and those whose did not. In Chinese, the names of Buddha, whose Brahmacarya remained long, come first and the names of those Buddhas, whose Brahmacarya did not remain long come next; but when the details are given, the order is changed. But in Pali, the

order is reversed and it is maintained even when the details are given.

But the real difference comes here. In Chinese, Vipasyī, Sikhī, Krakucchandas and Kāśyapa are the Buddhas, whose Brahmacarya remained long and Sui-ye (Visvabhū?) and Kanakamuni are the Buddhas, whose Brahmacarya did not remain long. But in Pali, Kakusandha, Konāgmana and Kassapa are the Buddhas whose Brahmacarya remained long and Vipassi, Sikhi and Vessabhu are the Buddhas whose Brahmacarya did not remain long.

The Buddhist Sūtras are divided into 12 categories according to the Chinese version such as (1) sūtra, (2) geya, (3) vyākaraṇa, (4) gāthā, (5) udāna, (6) nidāna, (7) jātaka, (8) itivṛttaka, (9) vaipulya, (10) adbhidharma, (11) avadāna, (12) upadeśa. But in Pali there are 9 categories such as (1) sutta, (2) geyya, (3) veyyākarana, (4) gāthā, (5) udāna, (6) itivuttaka, (7) jātaka, (8) abbhutadhamma and (9) vedalla (nidāna, avadāna, and upadeśa omitted and vedalla in place of vaipulya) or at best eleven including (a) appaññattam, sāvakānam sikkhāpadam and (b) anuddiṭṭham, pātimokkam in Pali as separate categories.

According to the Dharmaguptaka school, the causes of deterioration in a Saṅgha are 'highest gain, fame, much knowledge and much wealth'. But in Pali the causes are 'rattaññumahattam, vepullamahattam, lābhaggamahattam and bāhusaccamahattam'. Probably these are the causes of pride in a man and pride leads to degradation.

In Chinese, we do not get any reference to taking permission from the Brahmin of Verañja after the 'summer residence' was over. But in Pali, there is a long passage in this connection. After the Vassāvāsa was over, the Buddha called Ananda and told him that it was not desirable to go away to move in the country, without seeing him, by whom invitation for Vassāvāsa was given. Then with Ananda, Buddha went to the house of the Brahmin, and asked permission for going. On this, the Brahmin invited Buddha with all the monks to take their meal next day as the charity after vassāvāsa-deyyadhamma—was not

over. Next day the Brahmin feeding the Buddha with all other monks, gave three *cīvaras* to Buddha and one pair of cloth to each monk. Then the Buddha with the monks went to Payāgapati, following the route of Soreyya, Samkassa and Kannakujja and at Payāgapati crossing the Ganges, came to Benares and from there came to Vesāli and stayed there at Kūṭāgārasālā at Mahāvana. Nothing of these is given in Chinese version. But in both the versions, the next story begins at Vesāli.

Then comes the story of Suddinnaputra (in Chinese) or Sudinna Kalandakaputta (in Pali). The story also has many differences in these two versions. In Chinese, Sudinna is said to have simply much wealth and much gems, but in Pali he was a son of a *Setthi*. Further in Chinese, he is said to have left home, taken *Pravrajyā*, as he had a firm belief in the Law of Buddha. But in Pali, there is a long introduction to the story of his conversion. Once, with his companions, he went to Vesāli when Lord Buddha was there. There he saw the Buddha giving his religious discourse in a great assembly and he wanted to hear it. Having heard, he was much impressed and wanted to go out of home. At the end of the religious discourse, he approached the Buddha and expressed his desire; but the Buddha asked him to take permission from his parents first. Then Sudinna, finishing his business at Vesāli, went home and requested his parents for permission, expressing his desires, but they refused, as he was the only son. He three times requested and his parents refused three times. Thus, being unable to get permission, he started hunger-strike. Then his parents persuaded him to break the fast. Again three times they told him and he kept silent for three times. His parents having failed, his friends came to dissuade him, but they also failed three times. Then they persuaded his parents to give permission lest he would die. The parents yielded and gave him the necessary permission. So firm was the conviction of Sudinna. This story and the later part are nothing but to show the contrast between the severe conviction of early life, and the Pārajika Dharma—a man like Suddina also was not pardoned.

Having got permission, he was ordained, but the place where he was living, is not mentioned in the Chinese version. But according to Pali version, at that time he was living at Vajjigāma; therefore, when there was famine, he was justified in going to Kalandaka village near Vesāli, to help his relatives to acquire virtue by giving charity to monks, which is similar in both the versions.

Then in the Chinese version we are told that, having heard that Sudinna had come to Kālandaka, his mother herself went to him, persuaded him to give up the Dharma, to live a layman's life, as his father had died and that otherwise all the riches and properties of his father and grand-father would be confiscated by the state-officers, but still he refused. His mother made the request three times and he refused also three times.

But in the Pali version, the story is quite different. Having heard of his arrival at Vesāli, his relatives sent 60 *thālipākas* of rice, but he gave all these to other monks, he did not take anything from it and went to the village Kalandaka, for begging alms. He, in the course of his begging, reached his father's house and accidentally saw the maid-servant throwing the refuse of *Kummāsa* outside and requested her to give it into his bowl. The maid-servant recognised him from his hand, foot and voice and informed his mother of this. By that time, he had moved and was taking that food by the side of a wall. But he was detected there by his father—his father still living—and told "If you would take the refuse of *Kummāsa*, at such a place, you may go to your own house. Then he informed him that he got it from there. Then the father took him to his house, asked him to sit on a seat and take his meal. But he, addressing his father 'gahapati' and not as father, refused to take anything more, as he had finished his meal that day; but for the next, he accepted the invitation.

Next day it was something dramatic. His mother smeared the place, made two heaps of coins and gold as high as a man, covered it and arranged the seat of Sudinna in the middle. Further, she asked her daughter-in-law to adorn herself with such ornaments, which were liked most by Sudinna. The next

day, when Sudinna came and sat at the allotted place, his father uncovered the heaps and said to him: "these are only mother's and wife's property, still more are there of your father and grandfather. Please accept it, come to layman's life and enjoy the pleasures and acquire the merits". But he strongly refused. On the other hand he asked his father to fill it into bags and to throw it into the Ganges. Then the wife, being asked by the depressed father, began to plead, "How are those fairies, for whom you are practising Brahmacarya?" And the reply "Not for the fairies, O sister." Being addressed as 'sister' she fainted. Then Sudinna asked his father to give food if he liked and not to trouble him and he was served. But this time, his mother asked him to take up layman's life; but failing, requested him to give at least the seed—"vijaka", so that the line would not be extinct and the Licchavis should not take away the property. He agreed to it.

Here in Pali, we see that the Licchavis were to take away the property, but in Chinese, the property was to be confiscated by the state-officer; the word Licchavi is not used. In Pali, we see also that the mother first requested him and got his consent to give the seed, then she took his wife to him, but in Chinese, the mother without any previous request, took the wife to him, requested him and got the consent. In the Chinese, it was the marriage-dress which the wife put on, but in Pali, it was the best attire, ornament liked most by Sudinna.

In Chinese, the place of union between Sudinna and his wife was a covered place in the garden, and a spirit¹ was present there. His life ended and he entered into the womb. At that time, there is no reference to any sound.

But in Pali, the place of union was at Mahāvana. There is no reference to any spirit. But the earthly (Bhummā) gods made a sound that Saṅgha was undefiled and unpolluted and Sudinna

1 Here a ghost, Kuei probably means a Gandharva, as one of the three things essential at the time of conception is the presence of a Gandharva. The other two are union of the father and mother and the monthly course of the mother. (Gilgit, MSS. vol. II, Part 2, 139; M. N. I, 265 (sutta 28); M. N. II, 157 (sutta 93); Milin, 123 ff.)

caused defilement and pollution and the sound gradually reached the gods Caturmahārājika, Tāvatimsa, Yāma, Tusita, Nimmānarati, Paranimmitavasvatti, and Brahmakāyika. There is not slightest reference to this in Chinese.

In Chinese, only the son is named a Vījaka, but in Pali, the son is Vijaka, the mother is Vijakamātā and Sudinna is Vijakapita. Afterwards in Chinese, Vijaka left home, put on coloured robe and become an Arhat; but in Pali, the son and the mother both left home and took Pravrajyā.

Further in Pali, Kāmadhamma, lust is compared to a poisonous black snake only, but in Chinese, in addition to it, it is compared to fire, handle, grass-torch, fruit of a tree, borrowed thing, dry bone, piece of flesh, a thing in dream, moving on sword, unburnt earthen pot containing water, (poisonous snake), wheel-turning knife, pointed wood and sharp weapon (spear). It is a peculiar omission in pali or addition in Chinese.

Further in Chinese, ten motives or reasons for framing Sila are enumerated as one, two, three, etc., up to ten and the order is quite different from that in Pali. In Pali, they are not enumerated as one, two, three, etc., or the like and there it is simply said 'dasa athavasse'. If the list is given, the difference in order will be more clear. The meanings are almost identical:—

Chinese:

1. For regulation in Saṅgha (10).
2. Let the Saṅgha be happy (2).
3. Let the Saṅgha be at ease (1).
4. Let the non-believers believe (7).
5. Let the believers increase (in number) (8).
6. Let those who are difficult to be controlled, be controlled (3).
7. Let those, having shame, get peace (4).

Pali:

1. For the good of Saṅgha.
2. For happiness of Saṅgha.
3. For control of the uncontrolled persons.
4. For happy movements of perfect monks.
5. For removal of the āsavas.
6. For checking of the āsavas to come.
7. For the faith of unfaithful.

Chinese :

8. Cut the suffering present in āsrava (5).
9. Cut the coming āsrava (6).
10. May the Right Law (sam-yakdharma) long remain (9).
8. For increase of the faithful.
9. For existence of good law.
10. For maintenance of discipline.

After the story of Sudinna, in the Chinese version, the story of Vajjiputra comes first and then the story of the female monkey, but in Pali, the story of female monkey comes first and the story of Vajjiputras follows.

According to the Chinese version, the Vajjiputra monk seems to be one and there is no mention of his irregular life. He was sorrowful, did not like the pure conduct, returned home and committed sexual intercourse with his previous wife. Then he took the defense on the authority of Lord Buddha and argued that the Pārājika rule had been framed for the mohks only and not for those who returned home. But Buddha gave the verdict that the interpretation was wrong and that he was guilty of the Pārājika offence.

But there were so many Vajjiputtaka monks of Vesāli according to Pali version. They lived a very irregular life and without giving up 'Sikkhā' and without confessing the inability, they indulged in sexual intercourse. Here, it is not mentioned with whom, as in Chinese with wife, they had sexual intercourse, and the clause 'without giving up Sikkhā and without confessing their inability' seems to be purposely incorporated here in the premises with a view to the modification of the Pārājika rule in that light.

After their irregular life and sexual intercourse, they suffered from so many things, and approaching Ānanda, confessed that they did not hate Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, but they hated themselves and expressed their desire to practise the full and pure Brahmacarya since then, if they could get Pravrajyā and Upasampadā from the Buddha. Ānanda approached the Buddha for them, but the Buddha refused to slacken the rule for Vajjis or Vajjiputtakas. There was no question of personal consideration and he amended the rule accordingly.

The beginning of the story of the female monkey and the

Pali :

begging monk, in the Chinese version, is a bit elaborate. It tells how the monk was living in the forest, begging food from the village, and often taking his food, and giving the remaining food to the monkey and the like.

From the Chinese version, it seems that the monk had no such bad intentions as to have sexual intercourse at the beginning, but it was only a chance after the female monkey got familiar with him. But from the Pali version it appears that with that bad motive he started from the beginning. In Pali, the place is the Mahāvana of Vesāli and in Chinese, it is only a forest.

According to the Chinese version, the challenge by the visiting monks to that monk was about the impure conduct only, and when he defended that the Pārājika rule was about intercourse with women and not with animals, the monks went to the Buddha and the Buddha rebuked the offender in short. But in Pali, the question put by the new-comers to the monk is about the female monkey—the animal—probably to make the modification more logical and the offending monk was rebuked first by those monks and then again by the Buddha very elaborately and at the end the final form to the first Pārājika rule was given.

Then comes the commentary on different words of the rule. In Pali, the commentary begins with the explanation of 'yo pana' and then of the word 'Bhikkhu' but in Chinese it begins with Bhikṣu.

As regards the explanation of the word 'Bhikṣu', there is difference in meaning and order. Let us compare both:—

Chinese:

1. Named Bhikṣu (1).
2. Having marks of a Bhikṣu (4).
3. Self called (5).
4. Well come (svāgata) (6).
5. Begging (2).
6. Hold torn cloth (3).
7. Messenger of destroying bondage.

Pali:

1. Bhikkhako ti Bhikkhu.
2. Bhikkācariyam ajjhupagato ti.....
3. Bhinnapaṭadharo ti..... Bhikkhu.
4. Sāmaññāya.
5. Paṭiññāya.
6. Ehi bhikkhu ti.....
7. Tihi saranagamanehi upasampannoti.....

Chinese :

8. Accept greater *śīla* announcing 4 Karmas according to law, accomplished to get a place so Bhikṣu (12).

Pali :

9. Sāro.
10. Sekho.
11. Asekho.
12. Samaggena samghena nātti catutthena kammena akuppena thānārahena upasampanno ti.....

If we compare both the versions, we can easily see that the 7th in Chinese has no corresponding in Pali and the Pali from the 7th to the 11th has nothing corresponding to it in Chinese. the rest may somehow or other be identified. In Pali, there is not much difference in the meaning of the 1st and the 2nd and the difference shown by Buddhaghosa is not so satisfactory. In the Chinese, the first is 'named Bhikṣu'. Therefore it may be suggested that the reading of 'Bhikkhako ti' was 'Bhikkhu ti'. If we shall equate the 5th of the Chinese with the 1st of the Pali, then it will be difficult to find any clause corresponding to the 1st of the Chinese and the 2nd of the Pali. The rest are almost clear.

Then in the Chinese version, the explanation of 'of same life' comes first and then of 'of the same' *śīla* (*śikṣā*). *Sila* means 'Rather die then commit any offence.' But in Pali, the explanation of only *Sikṣā* comes first and then of 'sājivsamāpanno'. About *sikkhā*, it is said that there are three kinds of *sikkhā*, *adhisilasikkhā*, *adhi'ittasikkhā* *adhipaññasikkhā* and here it is taken in the sense of *adhisilasikkhā*.

Then in Chinese four questions are discussed. They in order are—(a) What is called not giving up *Sila*? (b) What is giving up *Sila*? (c) What is *Sila* inability and not giving up *Sila*? and (d) what is *Sila*-inability and giving up *Sila*? But in Pali, only three questions are discussed. They, in order, are—(a) How inability is expressed and *sikkhā* is not given up? (b) How

inability is expressed and sikkhā is given up. (c) How sikkhā is not given up? The Chinese (a) can be equated with Pali (c) (b) with (b) and (c) with (a) and (d) has no counterpart in Pali.

If we compare the details of the discussion of (a) of Chinese and (c) of Pali, we will see that the first three conditions are exactly the same. They are as follows:—(i) If a mad man (ummataka) or one nearby a mad man (ummatakassa santike) gives up sila (sikkha) it is not given up. (ii) If a man with disturbed mind (khittacitta) or one nearby a man with disturbed mind, or (iii) if a man having pain and sorrow (vedanatto) or one nearby so gives up sila, it is not given up. Then in Chinese, the question of dumb, deaf and dumb-deaf comes, but in Pali there is nothing of the kind. Then in Chinese, we have two conditions, (1) if a man of Middle Country in front of a man of the border country, and (2) if a man of border land in front of a man of Middle Land. In Pali also we have a corresponding portion there; it is said, one *aryaka*¹ in front of a *milakkhu*² and one *milakkhu* in front of an *aryaka*, but one more clause added there is—“He does not take cognisance of it.” As this clause was added, it gave rise to two more conditions, one ‘an *aryaka* before an *aryaka*’ and the 2nd ‘one *milakkhu* before a *milakkhu*’ which are not found in Chinese. Then we have the following two conditions in Chinese (i) one not having a quiet thought in front of one having a quiet thought, and (ii) one having a quiet thought in front of one not having quiet thought, have no corresponding conditions in Pali. Then comes ‘in joke’ in Chinese. In Pali there are two conditions ‘*davāya*’ and ‘*ravāya*’ and Buddhaghosa explains these words meaning ‘in hurry’ one with reference to a ‘wise man’ and the other to an ‘ignorant man’.³ But *dava* also means ‘sports’, ‘joke’. Further in Chinese comes ‘before a deity, dragon (nāga?), yakṣa, devil

1 ‘Ariyaka’ is explained by Buddhaghosa as the ‘speech of Magadha’. “ariyakam namo ariyavoharo Magadhabhāsā”. Samantapāsādikā, Vol. I., 255 P.T.S. Probably he means ‘those who speak that language’.

2 Milakkhus are non-Aryans like Andhras or Drāvidas, according to Buddhaghosa. Ibid. 255. (=Mīecha)

3 Ibid. 255-256.

(preta), sleeping man, dead man and senseless man'. But in Pali it is simply said 'devatāya santike, and 'tiracchānagatassa santike'. The last two conditions in Chinese are 'himself does not speak' and 'speaks in front of one who does not understand'. The first has no corresponding in Pali and the second may be compared with *aviññussa sāveti*. The rest of the Pali from 'ravāya sikkham pac'akhāti', up to the last, except 'aviññussa sāveti' has no similar passage in Chinese.

About the mental condition of a monk, of whom giving up *Sīla* or *Sīla*-inability and not giving up *Sīla* is discussed, in addition to so many common clauses, two conditions are given in Chinese, one is 'a monk does not like to practise *Brahmacarya*' and the other is 'wants to be able to return home'. But in their places, in Pali, the conditions are 'ukkanthito' 'anabhirato' and *sāmaññā cavitukāmo*. Further about what he likes, 'ārāmikabhāvam patthavamāno' is extra in Pali. As regards declaration of what he gives up, the last one in Chinese, i.e. 'the learning matter' is extra, if it will not be equated with 'uddessa' or *Pātimokkha* of Pali. If this is not equated then in Pali '*pātimokkha*, *uddessa*, *saddhivihārika* and *antevāsika*' are extra. Besides, in Chinese, the word is *brahmacarya*, but it is *sabrahmacāri* in Pali. In connection with the statement accepting the life of a house-holder etc. also *ārāmika assam*' is extra in Pali.

Under the discussion of *Sīla*-inability and not giving up *Sīla*, in the context of 'I remember father, etc.', garden and bathing pool are extra in Chinese, but in Pali *ñātaka*, *mitta*, *vatthu*, *hirañña*, *suvanṇa* and *sippa*, *pubbe hasito*, *lapita*, and *kīlita* are extra.

If we analyse the difference between 'what is giving up *Sīla*' and 'what is *Sīla*-inability and not giving up *Sīla*', according to Chinese version, we will see that in the former one *speaks* clearly that he gives up the Buddha, Dharma, etc. or that he does not require Buddha, the Buddha to him is of no use, etc. but in the latter, he makes statement that he *wants* to give up etc. In Pali also, the difference is almost the same. In one, 'one says and *declares*. I indeed give up the Buddha, etc. ! in the other 'one says

and declares *I wish* indeed to give up the Buddha, etc.' But in connection with not giving up Sila, in addition to 'yaññunāham' so many other phrases such as 'yadi panāham', 'apāham', 'handāham', and 'hoti me' are given and the same long passage is repeated. Besides so many other clauses are added in Pali, such as: 'I have mother, she should be maintained, I have father, brother, etc.' or 'I have mother, she will maintain me, etc.' or 'I have village, I can live on that', 'I have city . . . etc.' or it is very difficult to perform, not easy to perform, very difficult to practise, etc. These passages have no corresponding passages in Chinese.

The discussion of Sila-inability and giving up Sila in Pali is equivalent to simply 'giving up sīla' in Chinese. But Sila-inability and 'giving up sīla' in Chinese has no corresponding passage in Pali. It is defined as "If one thinks—"I want to give up sīla', and then gives up sīla."

Then in Chinese, impure conduct, Pārājika, and not to stay together are explained in order. But in Pali, after 'methunadhamma' 'patisevati nāma' and 'antamaso tracchānagatāyāpi' these two more 'clauses are commented on.

In Chinese, the impure conduct is explained as 'lustful action' (kāmadharma) only; but in Pali in so many words such as 'asaddhammo gāmadhammo vasaladhammo dutthullam odakan-tikam rahassam dvayam-dvayasamāpatti eso methunadhammo nāma'. From the Chinese translation it appears that one of the reading of gāmadhamma was possibly 'kāmadharma'.

In connection with the explanation of pārājika, it is said in Chinese, 'cut man's head, it cannot again come up', but in Pali it is 'abhavvo tena sarirābandhanena jīvitum'.

According to Chinese version, Saṁvāsa (to stay together) is in two things, to be in same karma and to be in the same recitation of śikṣāpada, but in Pali it is explained as 'ekakammam ekuddeso samasikkhātā'.

As regards the explanation of those with whom impure conduct is practised and one becomes Pārājika, we get an extra passage at the beginning, which is not found in Pali, though the subject matter is covered in Pali. The passage is 'Three kinds of acting

impure conduct are pārājika; human, not-human and animal'. Further 5 kinds of committing impure conducts are pārājika, human female, unmarried girl, one who has both the organs, eunuch and man, in these 5 places committing impure conduct is pārājika. Then a question comes about three kinds of female; committing impure conduct with them is pārājika. What are the three? Then the division comes and from here the Pali version begins as tisso itthiyo Here one difference is very obvious —that is Chinese 'unmarried girl or young female' is uniformly repeated, but in Pali it is nowhere mentioned. Further in Chinese, it is animal but in Pali it is tirachchāna.

The Pali passage 1.9.2. is almost repetition in sense of the 1.9.1. and has no corresponding passage in Chinese. Then in Chinese we come across a passage (1.8.1.) '.....If the first part of the organ enters, (offense) committed, if not enters, not committed' of which we do not get any corresponding passage in Pali. But it may be compared with the explanation of the word 'patisevati nāma' (Pali 1.8.5.) where we get 'tilaphalamattam pi'.

After the passge (Ch. 1.8.1.) and (Pali 1.9.8.), it is very difficult to give a clear-cut comparison of the passages. The passages (Ch. 1.8.2-4) have some similarity with the passage (Pali 1.9.3) on the whole. The Pali passage 1.9.3, is a very elaborate and there 'jāgarantim, mattam, ummattam and pamattam' are mentioned extra. Further in the same passage, a distinction between dead bodies 'completely not spoiled' and 'completely spoiled' is made and lustful conduct with the former is pārājika and with the latter, Thullaccaya, but according to Chinese, there is no distinction; both the cases are pārājika.

In Chinese (1.8.3.) it is simply said as 'enemy' obviously to be of the monk. But in Pali (1.9.5, 6 & 7) we see 'bhikkhu-paccatthika' rāya—, cora—, dhutta—and uppala-gandha-paccatthika. Paccatthika means enemy and these are explained by Buddhaghosa to be in the *Karmadharaya* compound and the monks, the kings, the thieves, cunnings and the bandits are enemies. But according to Chinese, probably 'bhikkhupaccatthika' means the enemies of a monk in general.

Then the passage beginning with 'amaggena maggam paveseti' up to the end of 1.9.7. in Pāli has no corresponding translation in Chinese. The passage 'anāpatti ajānantassa..... 1.9.8. in Pāli corresponds with the last passage of the Chinese (1.8.5). The previous passages in Chinese (1.8.4) are not correspondingly found in Pāli. Some of the facts, such as dead body, half spoiled or completely spoiled, or bone are mentioned, here and there in Pāli.

Peculiarly enough, in Pāli, there are 5 gāthās of mātikās and these are treated in detail (1.10.1-27). These begin just after the Chinese ends.

A Comparative Table of Chinese and Pāli Passages

There is no division in the Chinese translation. But I have made an artificial division, approximately corresponding with the passages of the Pāli Sutta Vibhaṅga (edited by Oldenberg.).

<i>Chinese.</i>	<i>Pāli.</i>	<i>Chinese.</i>	<i>Pāli.</i>
1.1.....	1.1.	—	5.7.
1.2.....	1.2. and 1.9.	4.3.....	5.8.
—	1.3.	4.4.....	5.9.
—	1.4.	4.5.....	5.10.
—	1.5.	4.6.....	5.11.
—	1.6.	5.	7.
—	1.7.	6.	6.
—	1.8.	7.1.....	8.1.
2 1.....	2.1.	7.2.....	8.4.
2.2....	2.2.	7.3.....	8.3.
3.1.....	3.1.	7.4.....	8.2.
3.2....	3.2.	7.5.....	—
3.3.....	3.3.	7.6.....	8.5.
3.4.....	3.4.	8.1.....	9.1.
—	4.	—	9.2.
4.1.....	5.1.	8.2.....	9.4. (9.6.)
—	5.2.	8.3.....	9.5. (9.3.)
—	5.3.	8.4.....	— (9.7?)
—	5.4.	8.5.....	9.8.
4.2.....	5.5.	—	10.1—27.
—	5.6.		

Translation of the First Pārājika

At that time Buddha was travelling in the Su-lu-p'o (Sulabha) country with a great assembly of five hundred Bhikṣus. Gradually he reached Pi-lan-jo (Verañja) and passed the night there under the Na-lin-lo Pin-chou Man-to-lo (Naleru Picu Mandāra) tree. The Brahmins of Verañja heard that Kiu-tan (Gautama) the Śramaṇa, a son of Sākyas who had come out from home of the Sākyas, and abandoned the family of the Sākyas for the sake of the Law had brought an assembly of 500 Bhikṣus with him from the country of Sulabha, and by stages had come to Verañja and stayed under the Naleru-Picu Mandāra tree. This Gautama has such great fame as Tathāgata, unattached, thoroughly enlightened, accomplished with learning and conduct, attaining righteous path, knower of the Universe, one having no superior, trainer of human steer, teacher of Gods and men, Buddha or Lord. Having obtained supernatural powers (rddhi) in the midst of the Gods, Māra, Brahma(cārin-), Śramaṇas, Brāhmaṇas and others, he makes others to witness it and always speaks of the right law (samyag dharma) which is auspicious at the beginning, in the middle and at the end, which is endowed with meaning and taste, and is pure and naturally full and complete. He practices Brahma-carya. Well! We have been able to see one like him, one who is not attached to others or to self. Now we should rather go to put questions to Śramaṇa Gautama. [1/1]

The Verañja Brahmin then went to the place of Lord. Having reached (there), having exchanged greetings he sat on one side. Then Lord in numerous ways spoke to him the Law, opened and changed (his mind) and let him get joy and happiness. Having heard Buddha speaking the law, and having obtained joy and happiness, he addressed Buddha and said: "O Lord! May you be kind to accept my invitation with the assembly of the monks for three months of summer residence." At that time the Lord with the assembly

of monks, with (his) silence accepted the invitation. The Verañja Brahmin knowing from his silence that the Lord has accepted his invitation, stood up from the seat, went round Buddha and departed. The Lord with the assembly of 500 monks accepted this (invitation of) summer residence for three months. [1/2]

At that time, there was a horse-dealer of Po-li (country) who had 500 horses, was passing the ninety-days of summer. At that time, at that place, grains were dear, people were famished and white bones were found scattered and it became difficult to get alms. The Verañja Brahmin although invited Tathāgata with the assembly of monks for three months, did not at all offer or supply what was required. What was the reason? All that was done by Mārapāśa. That time the monks from Verañja went begging food but not getting it; then next they went to the place of that horse-dealer. Then the horse dealer thought within himself: "Such is now the condition of this place that grains are dear, people are hungry, alms is difficult to get, white bones are (scattered) in disorder. These monks from there begged but did not get (anything). So they came here; indeed. I should now daily give to (each of) the monks one *sheng* of horse-wheat and to the Lord one *tou*." Thus as thought he daily gave the monks 500 shengs of horse-wheat and Lord one *tou*. Then Buddha gave horse-wheat thus obtained to Ananda. Ananda asked the (other) people to grind it into dry food and offered it to Buddha. Buddha ate (took) the dry food. The monks, each boiled the wheat and ate. What were taken by Buddha and the monks were different from each other. [2/1]

At that time venerable Mahā Maudgalyāyana went to the place of the Lord, worshipped him (by inclining his) head and face, retreated and sat in one side and spoke to the Lord thus: "O the Meritorious One, now at this place grains are dear, people are hungry, alms is very difficult to get, the food and drink of the monks are coarse and bad, and all have become lean. If the Lord allows the monks to go to Yu-tan-yue (Uttarāpatha) by magic power (they will) get fine rice to eat, if they will go." Buddha said to Maudgalyāyana: "Those who possess magic

power will be able to go to that place and will take fine rice to eat. What will be of those who have no magic power?" Maudgalyāyana said to Buddha: "Those who have magic power should be free themselves to go there; as to those who have no magic power, I will with the strength of my magic power, escort them to that place." Buddha said to Maudgalyāyana "Stop! Stop! Do not utter such words. Why? You male members have acquired magic power and can do such (things). What will be of the future monks?" [2/2]

Once Venerable Sāriputra at a leisurely quiet place thought: "Who are the thoroughly Enlightened Ones who practised Brahmacarya and the Law of Buddha long remaining, and who are the Thoroughly Enlightened Ones who practised Brahmacarya and the Law of Buddha did not remain long?" Then Sāriputra, from his quiet place rose up, arranged his clothes, went to the place of Lord, worshipped at his feet (inclining his head) and face and sat at one side. Soon after, he retreated (stood up) from his seat and spoke to Lord saying: "Just, I was sitting at a quiet place and thought this—'who are the Thoroughly Enlightened Ones who practised Brahmacarya and the Law of Buddha long remained and who are the Thoroughly Enlightened Ones who practised Brahmacarya and Law of Buddha did not remain long?' May you be kind to disclose it to me?" Buddha told Sāriputra: "Pi-po-she (Vipaśyi) Buddha. She (Sikhī) Buddha, Kiu-liu-sun (Krakucchanda) Buddha. Kia-ye (Kāśyapa) Buddha, all these Buddhas practised Brahmacarya and the Law long remained. Under Suei-ye (Vessabhu) Buddha and Kiu-nan-han-mu-ni (Kanagamuni) Buddha Law (Dharma) did not remain long. [3/1]

Sāriputra said to Buddha: "What is the cause and the condition for which Vipaśyi Buddha, Sikhī Buddha, Krakucchanda Buddha and Kāśyapa Buddha practised Brahmacarya and the Law remained long and what is the cause and the condition for which Vessabhu Buddha and Kanagamuni Buddha practised Brahmacarya and the Law did not remain long? Buddha spoke to Sāriputra: "Kanagamuni and Vessabhu Buddha did not elaborately speak to (teach) the disciples Sūtra, Geyya, Vyākaraṇa,

Gāthā, Udāna, Nidāna, Jātaka, Itivṛttaka, Vaipulya, Adbhūta-dharma, Avadāna and Upadeśa-sūtra; did not speak widely for the people (the texts) from Sūtra, did not frame the rules of conduct (śila) and also did not speak on them. So the disciples (got) tired and disgusted. On account of this, Dharma did not remain long. Then the Lord, knowing that the minds of the disciples were tired and disgusted, only imparted such teachings (as) this thing should be remembered, this should not be remembered, this should be thought, this should not be thought, this should be destroyed, this should be fully acquired and retained. Sāriputra! It was in the past that Vessabhu Buddha in 'the fearful forest', lived with one thousand of great monks. Sāriputra! If one has not abandoned desire and enter into that forest, hairs of his body will all stand erect. So it is called 'fearful forest'. Again Sāriputra! Kanagamuni Buddha, Vīpaśyi Buddha and the Taṭhāgata, attaining at end ultimate truth (nirvāṇa) thoroughly enlightened and seeing that the mind of monks were tired and disgusted, spoke the Law for (the people):—These things should be remembered, these should not be remembered, this thing should be thought, this should not be thought, this should be destroyed, this should be fully acquired and retained. Sāriputra may know it. At that time that Buddha and the disciples (Srāvakas) were in the world and the Law of Buddha was widely prevalent. (But) when that Buddha and the disciples attain parinirvāṇa, the people of this world of various names, various surnames (gotras) and various families and those that have left the house (pravrajita) would soon extinguish the Law of Buddha (and it would) not remain long. What is the cause? Because the sūtra form was not collected together. Sāriputra! for example, various flowers in disorder are put on the table, wind blows and then these are blown away. Why? As those are not drawn together with the thread. Like this, O Sāriputra! when Buddha and the assembly of the Srāvakas were in this world, the Law of Buddha was current. When Buddha and the assembly of the Srāvakas passed away, the people of this world of various names, various surnames, various families (and) those who had left the house

would make the Dharma soon disappear and it would not remain long. What is the cause? Because they were not drawn together by the Law of sūtra. [3/2]

At that time, Lord told Sāriputra that Vipaśyi Buddha, Sikhi Buddha, Krakucchanda Buddha, Kāśyapa Buddha for all the disciples widely spoke the Sūtra from Sūtra to Upadeśa and also framed Śilas (rules of discipline) and spoke Śilas. The mind of the assembly of the Śrāvakas was tired and disgusted. At that time Buddha knew that their mind was tired and disgusted and that it was time for such teachings:—this should be remembered, and this should not be remembered, this should be thought and this should not be thought, this should be destroyed and this should be acquired and retained. Such, O Sāriputra! were those Buddhas and the assembly of the disciples and the Law of Buddha was current. Even when those Buddhas and the assembly of the disciples died, the people of this world of different names, surnames and families, and those that left the house did not let the Law soon extinguish. What is the cause? Because they are drawn together in the form of sūtra. Sāriputra! for instance, various flowers were put on the table, stitched with thread and although by wind they were blown, they were not scattered. Why? as they were stitched and drawn together with the thread. Similarly, O Sāriputra! when those Buddhas and the assembly of Śrāvakas remained in this world, the Law of Buddha was widely spoken (elaborately thought) as (mentioned) above. Sāriputra! this is the cause and the condition why from Vipaśyi Buddha to Kāśyapa Buddha, the Law of Buddha could long remain and because of this cause and condition Konagamuni's and Vipaśyi's Law of Buddha could not remain long. [3/3.]

Then Sāriputra rose from his seat, slightly uncovered his shoulder, his right knee touching the ground and with palms folded, he spoke to Budhha; "O Lord! now just is the time to request the Great Sage to frame śilas (rules of discipline) and to speak śilas for the monks and let (them) practise Brahmacarya (so that) the Law may remian long. Buddha said to Sāriputra; "Stop! Stop! Buddha himself knows the time,

Sāriputra; Tathāgata has not (as yet) framed the śīlas for the monks. What is the cause? Because among the monks there are as yet no sins and no āsravas. When āsrava is produced (by them) the Lord will frame the śīlas for the monk in order to destroy their āsrava. This is because, Sāriputra, the monks have not yet acquired by (the sense of) gain (lābha), they are not yet touched by Āsrava dharma. If they acquire (the sense of) gain they will have āsrava. Sāriputra, the monks have not yet produced the āsrava, because they have not (yet) fame, are not known by the people or have not much knowledge (bahuśruta) or have not much wealth. If the monks get fame etc. up to much wealth they will produce āsrava. If āsrava-dharma is produced, then the Lord will for them frame the śīlas (as he) wants to destroy the conducts of their āsrava-dharma. Sāriputra! you just stop. Tathāgata himself knows the time. [3/4].

That time the Lord was at Vaiśāli. There was then the Kia-lan-po (Kālandaka) village. There was Sudinnaputra at that village having much wealth and gems. He had firm and strong belief (in the law) and left home to practise the Law. [4/1].

At that time, at that place grains became dear; all the monks begged alms, but it was difficult to get. I may now rather lead all monks to the Kālandaka village to beg food. All the monks, because of my efforts may get much entertainment and practise Brahmacarya. I may also enable my relatives to gladly practise charity so that they may (acquire) merits. Having thought thus he led all the monks to Kālandaka village. [4/2].

Sudinnaputra's mother, hearing that her son, bringing all the monks, had returned to his own village. Then she went to receive (him), reached the place where her son was and spoke to her son saying: "This is the time you may give up the Law and return to be on white cloth (or again to be a lay-man). Why? your father has (already) died. I am now alone and fear the family property may be confiscated (lit. sink in water) by the (state) officer. But your father's property is already much and not to speak of limitless property, coming down since the grandfather and much can be saved (if you return). Therefore you now should give up the religion and come to the

ordinary society." Then (he) answered his mother, saying: "I cannot give up the Law, I cannot do what is not law, now (I) like Brahmacharya much and practise the highest Law. This demand was repeated three times (by the mother). The son also answered saying: "I cannot give up Law and return to ordinary society." [4/3.]

The mother then left him and went away to his wife's place and spoke thus: "When your monthly period comes, then come to inform me." When the wife herself knew the time had come, she went to inform her mother-in-law, "O great lady (Mother-in-law) you wanted to know and the time of my monthly period has come." The mother said to the wife, "Adorn your body with clothes that you put on at your marriage. Put on all (such clothes) and come." Then accordingly to her instruction at that time, she dressed herself. The mother together with her went to the son's place (and said), "Now just is the time. Then you may give up the religion and come to ordinary society. Why? If you will not give up the Law, my wealth and property will be confiscated by the state-officer." The son told the mother saying: "I cannot give up the Law." The mother said like this twice and thrice. The son replied in the same way. She then said to the son "To-day your wife has attained the monthly period. Then may (you) deposit the seed and let not your line be destroyed." The son spoke "This thing is rather easy. I can do it." At that time Kālandaka-putta did not see (regard) the lust (to be) dirty because Buddha had not yet framed the Sila. Then taking the wife by her arm, brought her to a covered place inside the garden and thrice performed the impure act. At that time, in the garden there was a spirit, whose life had ended. He stayed (entered) in her womb and remained in her womb for nine months. She produced a male child (son), whose facial appearance was proper (adhirūpa, beautiful) having no comparison in the world. He was named Bijaka (seed). He had all his organs (limbs) complete and gradually grew up. He shaved his hairs, put on Kasāya (coloured robe) and as his faith was strong, he went out from home to learn the Law. He was diligent and not

lazy and obtained Arhatship. His magic power was capable of change and his dignity and virtue was unlimited. So he was named Bhadanta Bijaka (Venerable Seed) Sudinna. He learned proper (iryāpatha) dignity of a Sramana; there was nothing that was not known to him; touched the things (whatever) all (others) acted, and also could teach others. [4/4].

They since Sudinna performed the impure act, he always had (in mind) sorrows and worries. The co-learners having seen, asked "Why are you sorrowful and worried?" "You long practised Brahmācarya. About īryāpatha (deportment), nothing is unknown to you. Why are you sad?" "Is it that you do not like Brahmācarya?" Then Sudinna said: "I much like Brahmācarya. Recently at a corner (secluded) place, (I) committed the bad act with (old second) wife. For performing the impure act I feel sorry. All the monks said to Sudinna: "Why did you then do such bad thing? In Tathāgata's pure Law, you (introduce) lust (desire) where there was no lust (desire), you (introduce) impurity; where there was no impurity, (you) can destroy thirst, (trṣṇā), lust, the nest (the place where produced) and remove all the bondages. It is for the extinction of lust and for Nirvāna. Why now you, in this pure Law, performed impure act with your wife?" [4/5].

At that time, all the monks went to the place where the Lord was; with head and face (inclined) they worshipped his feet, and sat on one side and narrated this event (lit.: cause and condition) in detail to the Lord. The Lord at that time, because of this cause and condition, assembled all the monks. The Lord knows and asks and knows and does not ask, sometimes asks and sometimes does not ask, and asks in conformity with meaning. At that time, the Lord, knowing the time and (the occasion) full with meaning, asked Sudinna; 'Did you actually performed impure act with your wife?' 'Yes Lord; I performed the impure act.' Then the Lord in numerous ways rebuked him saying, 'You have done wrong; not (proper) behaviour, not (worthy of) a Sramana, (it is) not pure conduct, the conduct not following the Law should not have been done. Why, O Sudinna, did you in this pure Law (which concerns practice) from the con-

duct till the extinction of lust and (attainment of) Nirvāna, perform an impure act with your wife?" Then he told all the monks, "Rather put your organ into the mouth of a poisonous snake (but) do not put it into the female organ. Why? it is not that on account of this one falls into bad way (consequence), (but) if one touches women, the body decays, the life ends; he falls into three bad ways (consequences). What is the cause? I, in numerous ways (words) spoke to destroy the path of lust, destroy the thought of lust, and the idea of lust, to remove the heat of lust and to overcome the bondage of lust. I, in numerous ways, spoke that lust is like fire, like a torch of a bundle of grass, also like a fruit on the tree, again like a borrowed (not one's own) thing, just like dry bone, also like a piece of flesh, like a dream seen, like moving on an edge of a sword, like new (unburnt) earthen pot, containing water put in the sun, like the head of a poisonous snake, like a knife, turning on wheel, like a sharp (pointed) wood, like the point of a sharp weapon (spear) and it is very dirty and bad (or much to be disgusted)." Buddha rebuked him thus "Sudinna, in my pure Law (which concerns practice) till extinction of lust and (attainment) of Nirvāna, you did an impure act with your wife." At that time, the Lord having rebuked him in numerous ways, told all the monks, "Sudinna, the stupid man, of so many kinds of offences, pertaining to Āsrama, is the first to violate the Sila. From now onwards, for all the monks I frame the teaching, putting together ten sentences (pada) with meaning: first for regulation in the Saṅgha, second to let Saṅgha be happy, third to let Saṅgha, be peaceful, fourth to let non-believers believe, fifth to let believers increase, sixth to appease those who are difficult to be controlled, seventh to let those having shame and hatred (disgust) to get peace, eighth to destroy (sufferings) present in the āśravas, ninth to destroy the coming (future) āśravas, tenth to allow the Right Path (samyagdharma) may the true law long to exist. I want to speak Sikṣapada. It should be said like this: "If a monk performs impure act, does sexual intercourse (mithunadharma), this monk should be *pārḍjika* and should not stay together

(with others)." Like this, the Lord, for all the monks, framed the Sīkṣāpada. [4/6].

At that time, there was a Vajjiputra monk sorrowful and worried. He did not like the pure conduct. When he went back home and did impure act with his wife, he thought thus: "The Lord framed the Sīkṣāpada for all the monks. If a monk does impure act, does lusty deeds, this monk becomes pārājika; he should not stay with others. But I, being sorrowful and worried, did not like pure conduct, returned home and did impure act with wife. Shall I not be guilty of pārājika? How shall I be?" Just then he spoke to all the fellow learners, saying: "O elders, the Lord for all the monks makes Sīkṣāpada; if a monk does impure act, has sexual intercourse, the monk commits pārājika and should not stay with others. But I had sorrow and worries, did not like the pure Law, returned home and together with wife did impure act. Shall I not commit pārājika? How shall I be now? I shall thank you, elders, if you speak about me to Buddha." All the monks then went to the place where the Lord was, with head and face (inclined) worshipped his feet, all sat on one side, and narrated the event in detail to the Lord. The Lord then, for the cause and condition, assembled the Saṅgha and in numerous ways rebuked the monk Vajjiputta, "You have done wrong which is not īryāpatha (good deportment) not the practice of the śramaṇas, not pure conduct, not the conduct following the Law. It should not have been done. Why you foolish man did you not like pure conduct, returned home, did impure act with wife and just then (at that time) entered pārājika and you foolish man, committed pārājika (for which one should) not stay with others. For the reason, O monks, if there are other people who do not like pure conduct, I allow them to give up the Sīkṣāpada and to return home. If again they want to go out from home, to enter the Law of Buddha and to practise pure conduct, they should be rescued, allowed to go (come) out from home and to accept great Sila. From now onwards one should pronounce the Sīkṣāpada thus: 'If a monk with (other) monks has the same life and Sila and if he does not give up Sila and if he does not

confess his weakness in regard to (the observance) of Sila and does impure act and lustful act, this monk is Pārājika; he should not stay together with others.' "Thus did the Lord, for all the monks, make the Sikṣāpada. [5].

At that time, there was a pindapātika Bhikṣu, staying (living) in the forest. There was one female monkey (living there) before he had been into that forest. Now the monk used to go to the village to beg food, return to the forest and eat. Having eaten, he used to give the remainder to the monkey. Thus (the monkey) gradually became intimate and would run after the monk, walk and even caught by hand would not go away. The monk then caught the monkey and with (her) did impure act.

There were then many monks who while searching for staying place arrived at that forest. Then that monkey in front of the monks, turned back her body, showing the back to them and exhibited the part of the female organ. Then the monks thought thus: "This monkey in front of us, turned back her body and exhibited the part of her female organ. Does she do impure act with other monks" They spoke to each other "Let us be in a covered place and watch it." That monk (after) begging food, returned to the forest, and having eaten (taken food), gave the remaining part to the monkey. The monkey after eating the food did impure act with the monk. All the monks having seen it then came out and said "Does not the Tathāgata prohibit saying that the monk should not do impure act?" That monk replied saying "That is prohibited by the Tathāgata in regard to women, (but) not in regard to the beast." The monks having heard these words went to Buddha's place, worshipped him with head and face (inclined) and reported the incident in detail to the Lord. The Lord, then, on account of this assembled the Saṅgha of the monks, in numerous ways rebuked that begging monk, saying, "How does a monk, with a monkey performs the impure act! (One who does so) enters the first Pārājika. I want to pronounce Sikṣāpada should be like this: 'If a monk with other monks, has the Sila, (but) if he does not give up Sila, and does not confess his weakness in regard to the observance of

Sila, and does impure act even with animals, this monk is Pārājika and should not stay with others together'." [6].

As regards the word 'Bhikṣu' they are named 'Bhikṣu' as they have the marks (lakṣaṇa) like that of a Bhikṣu, or call themselves Bhikṣu or Svāgata Bhikṣu, a Bhikṣu by virtue of begging (bhikṣutah), or a Bhikṣu for putting on torn clothes or a Bhikṣu for (being) a messenger for the destruction of bondage, or a Bhikṣu for he has accepted the greater Sila by four Karma according to Law, for having accomplished (it) and got a place. In this (context) Bhikṣu (means) one who has accepted the greater Sila by announcing the four actions (karmas) which are according to Law accomplished, and by which one gets a place, and stays in the Law of the monks, this is the meaning of Bhikṣu. In this case fellow-monks (monks living together or leading same life) are the rest of monks who have accepted the greater Sila by announcement of four actions according to Law accomplished, and by which one gets a place and stays in the Law of monks (Bhikṣudharma). This is the meaning of the fellow-monks (or those lead the same life). What is called the same Sila? I, for the disciples, have framed Sila: 'Rather die, but do not commit offence'. In this, with other monks (to have) the one Sila, same Sila and equal Sila is called the same Sila,. [7/1]

What is called 'not giving up Sila'? A man gives up Sila — one gives up Sila in front of a mad man, one with deranged mind gives up Sila or in front of one with deranged mind gives up Sila, one having pain and sorrow gives up Sila or in front of a man having pain and sorrow gives up Sila, a dumb gives up Sila, a deaf gives up Sila, a dumb-deaf gives up Sila, in front of a dumb gives up Sila, in front of a deaf gives up Sila, in front of dumb-deaf gives up Sila, a man of middle country in front of a man of border land gives up Sila, a man of border land in front of a man of middle country gives up Sila, one not having quiet thought (in front of) one having quiet thought gives up Sila, one of quiet thought (near) one not having quiet thought gives up Sila, in joke gives up Sila, if (before) a deity (god), if a dragon, if yakṣa, if devil, if sleeping man, if dead man, if senseless man, if himself does not speak, if speaks in front of a

man who does understand, such (cases) are called not giving up Sila. [7/2]

What is giving up Sila? If a monk does not like to practise Brahmacharya, wants to be able to return home, is disgusted with the Law (life) of monks, always has in mind shame and hatred, is fond to be at home, like the life of an *upāsaka* (layman) or thinks of the life of the disciple of heretics does not like Śramaṇa, not the life (path) of Śākyaputra, and then make such words (statement): "I give up Buddha, give up Dharma, give up the order (Saṅgha) of the monks, give up Upādhyāya, give up the same as Upādhyāya, give up Acārya, give up same as Acārya, give up Brahmacharya, give up Sila, give up Vinaya, give up learning matters (Sikṣāpada), accept the life (dharma) to live at home (of householders); I become pure (ordinary) man, I become Upāsaka, I become Samaṇera, I become heretic, I become disciple of heretics, I become non-Śramaṇa, non-Śākyaputriya, and if again (further) say such words, I stop, do not require Buddha, Buddha to me is of no benefit (?), I leave the place of Buddha, like this upto learning matters, also like this if further makes other words attacking Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha till Sikṣāpada, then praise home property till non-Śramaṇa, non-Śākyaputriya, like, this clearly (he) speaks, this is called giving up Sila." [7/3]

Sila inability.....or there is Sila inability and not giving up Sila or there is Sila inability and giving up Sila. What is Sila-inability (and) not giving up Sila? If a monk, sorrowful and worried, does not like Brahmacharya, wants to be able to return home, is disgusted with the life of monks, always cherishes in (mind) shame and hatred, likes to be at home, till likes (or) wants to be non-Śramaṇa, like the life of non-Śākyaputriya and then say these words: "I remember father and mother, brethren (elder and younger brothers), sisters (elder and younger sisters), wife, children, village, city, farm-garden, bathing pools and I want to give up Buddha Dharma and Saṅgha, till learning matters, then want to maintain house (hold) property, till non-Śramaṇa, non-Śākyaputriya; this is called Sila inability and not giving up Sila. [7/4].

What is *Sila* inability and giving up *Sila*? If one entertain such thinking, "I want to give up *Sila*" and then gives up *Sila*. this is called, *Sila*-inability and giving up *Sila*. [7/5]

Impure conduct is lustful action down upto with beasts' organ (the place where sexual intercourse can be done). It is (impure conduct).

What is called *Pārājika*? For example, cut man's head, it cannot again come up. The monks who have committed this offence also like this, no longer, can be *Bhikṣu*. Therefore, it is called *Pārājika*.

What is called not to stay together? There are two things to stay together, to be in the same one *karma* and to be in the same one speaking (reciting) *Sila* (*Sikṣāpada*). Not to be able to stay in these two things is therefore called not to stay together. [7/6]

Three kinds of committing impure conduct are *Pārājika*; human, not-human and beast. Further five kinds of committing impure conduct are *Pārājika*; human lady, unmarried girl, one who has two forms (of organ), eunuch, and man, in these five places committing impure conduct is *Pārājika*. With three kinds of female, doing impure conduct is *Pārājika*. What are these three? Human female, not-human female and beast-female. In these three places to do impure act is the offence *Pārājika*. Three kinds of virgin, three kinds of beings having two forms (organs), three kinds of not-able (impotent) men, three kinds of male, with these to do impure act is *Pārājika*. Also like this, to commit (impure act) with others' wife at three places is *Pārājika*. (The three places are) great anal passage, small urinal passage and mouth. (With) non-human, wife (female), animal (female), human virgins, non-human virgins, animal young female, men having two forms of organ, non-human having two forms and animal having two organs, at three places also like this. (With) human eunuch, at two places to do impure act is *Pārājika*; at great anal passage and mouth. Non-human eunuch and animal eunuch also like this. With human male, non-human male and animal male at two places is like this. A monk has lustful mind towards others' wife and daughter and at great anal passage, small wind

passage and mouths, if the first (part of the organ) enters, (offence) is committed, if not enters, not committed. [8/1].

(Both) the female having covers and (the male) not having covers, (the female) not having covers (and the male) having covers, (both) the female not having covers and the male not having covers; it is (also) Pārājika. If a monk has lusty desires towards other's wife and daughter, non-human's wife and daughter (girl) animal female, human virgin, non-human virgin, animal virgin, man having two forms (organs), non-human having two forms, animal having two forms and at three places.....also like this. Human eunuch, non-human eunuch, animal eunuch, human male, non-human male, animal male at two places.....also like this. If a monk with lustful desires (approaches) towards a sleeping wife or daughter, if.....dead, the form (whole body) not yet destroyed or much (of it) not yet destroyed, at great annal passage, the little urinal passage and mouth, and if first (part of the organ) enters, he commits (the offence), not enters, does not commit. Having covering.....not covering also like this; in detail explained till upto male also like this. [8/2].

If a monk is brought to the place of a man's wife or daughter by enemy and is forced to take male organ and let it enter into three places, feels pleasure at the time of entering, pleasure when entered, pleasure at the time of coming out, it is Pārājika; at the time of entering, pleasure, after having entered, pleasure, (but) at the time of coming out not pleasure, it is Rārājika; at the time of entering, pleasure, after having entered, not pleasure, at the time of coming out, pleasure it is Pārājika; at the time of entering, pleasure, after having entered, not pleasure at the time of coming out, not pleasure it is Pārājika; at the time of entering, not pleasure, after having entered not pleasure, at the time of coming out, pleasure it is Pārājika. At the time of entering, not pleasure, at the time of having entered, not pleasure, at the time of coming out, pleasure, it is Pārājika. (The female) having covers, (the male) not having covering, also like this. From non-human's wife (woman) till upto human

male one is also like this. If a monk by enemy is brought to human sleeping woman or to a dead one, the form not being spoiled or much (of it) not spoiled and feeling pleasure, also like this. Having covering and not having covering, also like this. From non-human's wife till upto human male, also like this. If a monk is forcibly caught by enemy and in the great annal passage is made to perform impure act and feels pleasure at the start it is Pārājika; if in the middle and the end feels pleasure, also like above, till upto 'having covering and not covering' also like above. [8/3]

From passage, enters passage, from passage enters non-passage, from non-passage, enters passage, if to a limit enters, if completely enters, if speaks, if does not speak, if with lustful mind enters up to a head of a hair, Pārājika. Purposely not enters, *Thullacaya*. If a monk with certain means seeks (sexual) pleasure and desires to perform impure act and if he succeeds, (this offence is) Pārājika; not succeeded, *Thullacaya*. If a monk instructs a monk to perform impure act and that monk does it, the instructor (commits) *Thullacaya*; if he does not do it the instructor (commits) *Tu-ki-lo* (*Dukkada*?). A nun instructs a monk to do impure action; if the monk does, *Thullacaya*; does not do, *Dukkada*. Besides the monk and the nun, if the rest of the (Saṅgha) mutually instructs to do impure action, (they) do or do not do, all commit *Dukkada*. If (in) a dead body, half-spoiled, (one) does impure act, enters, then *Thullacaya*, if most part spoiled, if completely spoiled (then also) *Thullacaya*. If it is in bone, *Thullacaya*. If one digs the earth to make a hole, takes mud to do a hole, and if in the mouth of a kunda does impure act he commits *Thullacaya*. If a passage imagined or suspected to be this, all *Thullacaya*. If a passage thought to be a passage, Pārājika; if a passage suspected (to be a passage), Pārājika. If a passage, thought to be not passage, Pārājika; not-passage thought to be a passage, *Thullacaya*; not passage doubted, *Thullacaya*.

A Bhikṣuṇī (in these cases always) Pārājika, a Siksmana, Sāmanera and Sāmaṇeri (commits) *dukkada*. (Such persons are) destroyed or expelled. [8/4]

The guilty persons are called not guilty, if asleep or without consciousness; or (if) not got pleasure all (the time) and had not lustful desire, not guilty. (They are) not guilty (if done) when Sila has not been laid down. If they are ignorant or mad or disordered in mind, or have pain and misery or troubled, are not guilty. [8/5].

P. PRADHAN

Chuan Tsi Pai Yuan King and The Avadānasatāka

Introduction

The *Avadāna-śatāka* is one of the most important and ancient collections of *Avadānas* in Sanskrit. It comes next to the *Divyāvadāna*. But whereas the last mentioned work is mostly a collection of stories taken out from the *Vinaya-piṭaka* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* school, the *Avadāna-śatāka* is an original collection. Burnouf was the first to take notice of the collection from a Nepalese manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris in his *Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien* (1842). Rajendralal Mitra was the next to include a detailed description of the stories in his *Nepalese Buddhist Literature* (1882). Feer first published a summary of the stories in the *Journal Asiatique* (1878-1884) and subsequently a French translation of the entire collection in the series—*Annals du Musée Guimet* (1891). The first critical edition of the Sanskrit text due to Speyer was published from St. Petersburg in 1906-1909 in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* series. Both Burnouf and Feer compared the Sanskrit with the Tibetan translation of the work and remarked that the latter is very literal. But the Chinese translation was never systematically compared with the Sanskrit. Speyer included a few incidental notes on it in his edition of the Sanskrit text with the help of Prof. de Groot.

The Sanskrit text contains exactly one hundred *Avadānas* divided into ten equal sections. The fifth story, the Story of Soma is now lost. So we have now 99 stories in the Sanskrit text. The division into sections (*varga*) does not really follow any well defined plan. All of them are more or less devoted to the merits of good Karma. If we try to find out some sort of plan in them the following rough plan may be discovered. The first four sections are devoted to persons becoming Buddha and *Pratyeka* Buddha through the merits of their Karma; the

fifth section contains the stories of persons becoming Pretas through the effect of bad Karma; the sixth section contains the stories of men and animals reborn in heaven through the effect of good Karma and the last four sections contain stories of persons becoming Arhats through their merits (Winternitz—*History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 279-84).

The Chinese translation of the *Avadānaśataka* is entitled *Chuan tsai pai yuan k'ing* (撰集百緣經), Nanjio 1324; Taisho 200. The translation is due to Che Kien and belongs to the second quarter of the 3rd century A.D. Each section in the Chinese translation has a special name which is not found in the Sanskrit text: the names of the sections in the Chinese are the following:

1. Bodhisattva-vyākaraṇa.
- II. Pratyeka-Buddha-vyākaraṇa.
- III. Reward of offering.
- IV. Birth of the Bodhisattvas.
- V. On the Pretas.
- VI. Gods coming down to make offerings.
- VII. Transformation through the effect of Karma.
- VIII. On the Bhikṣuṇīs.
- IX. On the Śrāvakas.
- X. On the Nidānas.

A comparison of the Sanskrit text with the Chinese translation shows a general agreement between the two. The order of the arrangement in both is the same with the exception that the Chinese gives the names of the sections but the Sanskrit does not do it; most of the stories are fundamentally the same in both, but in the Sanskrit the stories are more developed. The stories which do not occur in or agree with the present Sanskrit text have been translated below. Dr. P. C. Bagchi, whom I should thank for the help I have derived from him, has also added a note in which he has discussed the problems arising out of the comparison of the two texts.

*Translation*5. *The Story of the Poor Man Soma offering Yarn to the Buddha.*

When the Blessed One was staying in Anāthapindaka's Jetavana at Srāvasti, there was a weaver in that city, Soma (Siu-mo) by name. He was so poor that one could not find even a pint or peck of rice in his house. He used to maintain his life by weaving cloth for others. One day there arose in his mind such thoughts: 'It is because I did not make charity in my former birth that I suffer in the present birth, all these poverty and hardship. If now I do not perform the same, it will be worse in my future existence. What I should do now is to labour hard and try to save something for the purpose of making charity, so that I may probably obtain its fruit in the future birth.' Having so thought, he searched and got some yarn. While arriving at a narrow lane on his way back home, he saw the Buddha, well-dressed, bowl in hand, accompanied by the Bhikṣus and entering the city for begging alms. He approached the Blessed One and offered him the yarn. When he had accepted the yarn, there appeared holes in the robe of the Buddha, and the Blessed One therefore mended the robe with it. Having seen this, Siu-mo's mind was greatly rejoiced. He saluted the feet of the Lord and made a great vow by uttering a gāthā in his presence:

I have come across a great field of merits

Although the offering is so trifle and insignificant;
Having offered it to the Blessed One,

I declare that I must later on become a Buddha,
And emancipate innumerable beings from the ocean of
sufferings.

May the Almighty Lord of all virtues

Be a witness to my humble vindication
And the Blessed One uttered the following gāthā in
reply:

It is now that you met me, and therefore

The faith of alms-giving has been aroused in you.
 You will become a Buddha. 'Daśasūtra' by name
 Whose fame will spread over ten directions.
 You will also liberate innumerable beings.

Having at that time heard the gāthā by the Buddha, Siu-mo's faith and reverence for the teaching were deeply enhanced. With all his limbs thrown flat on the ground in showing great respect he pledged: 'By the merits of my offering this yarn, may in my future birth, the blind creatures have eyes in their future existence, may the shelterless be sheltered, the unprotected protected, the unliberated liberated, the comfortless comforted and let those who have not yet attained Nirvāna immediately possess it.'

When he made this vow, the Buddha smiled and there radiated forth rays of five colours from his face-front. They made three circuits round him and finally entered into the crown of his head.

Now Ānanda stood up and said to the Blessed One: "The Tathāgata stands high and is ever serious. He never smiles, if it has no meaning. There must be a cause for smiling now. Will the World-Honoured one be so pleased as to explain it at length?"

Then the Lord told Ānanda: "Have you, O Ānanda, seen the poor man Siu-mo who joyously offered his yarn and made a great vow?"

"Even so, O Lord", replied Ānanda.

"I smiled because that Siu-mo who offered me his yarn will, in his future life become a Buddha, 'Daśasūtra' by name. He will bring deliverance to countless beings."

When the Bhiksus heard the words of the Buddha they were happy and were ready to put them into practice.

8. *Two Brahmins Quarrel over the Supernatural Power of the Buddha.*

When the Blessed One was staying in Anāthapindaka's Jetavana at Srāvasti, there were, at that time two Brahmācārins

in the city. Among them, one had profound faith in the law of the Buddha, always eulogizing the virtues of the Tathāgata and asserting that he, in the three worlds, is the highest. The other who was deeply attached to the heretical views said that the followers of the tirthika teachers were also incomparable and stood first. And thus the dispute went on and never came to an end.

Now, this was heard by king Po-sse-ni (Prasenajit) who called the two Brahmacārins and questioned them on the cause of their controversy. The one who professed the religion of the heretics said: "I am a follower of Purāṇa and others who really possess the super-natural powers which are much better than those of Śramaṇa Gautama."

The king then questioned the one who was a follower of the Buddha: "Now, what supernatural power your Gautama with whom you are associating possesses?"

"Śramaṇa Gautama, of whom I am a follower, has extraordinary divine power and he is equalled by none", replied the Brahmin.

Having heard the words of the two Brahmacārins, king Prasenajit said, "Now, each of you praise the God to whom you are paying homage and consider him to be the best. I shall now, on the 7th day, assemble millions of people in a vast ground on your behalf in order to test their divine power. Each of you should burn incense, scatter flowers and sprinkle water and invite your teachers to come to this assembly and be saluted by all."

They agreed to the proposal of the king.

On the seventh day, by order of the king, all people were assembled together. Each of the two Brahmacārins in the presence of all, made a vow or a wish. The follower of Purāṇa, in the meanwhile taking incense, flowers and purified water declared his wish to the assembly thus: "If Purāṇa and others, to whom I am paying my respect, have possessed divine power, let these incense, flowers and purified water reach my master's place by flying in the sky; let him know my intentions and come to attend this meeting. Otherwise let these articles remain here

as they are." Having made this vow, he threw the articles into the air, but all fell on the ground and none did go?

Having witnessed this frustration of supernatural power, the crowd spoke to one another: "Now, we know, Purana and others have possessed really no divine power. They have accepted our offerings in the country worthlessly."

When this remark was made by the crowd, the disciple of the Buddha, taking the incense and flowers and the purified water, threw them into the sky in the presence of all, and said thus: "If the Tathāgata now, really possesses supernatural power please let this fragrance of incense, the scattered flowers and the purified water go to his place; also let him know my intentions and come to attend this meeting."

As soon as his prayer was over, all the articles vanished away. The sky was overcome with cloud of smoke and the whole of Sravasti was under its shadow; the flowers in the sky were transformed into a canopy of flowers which stayed over the head of the Blessed One and followed him wherever he went; and the purified water fell on the ground where the Buddha was, like crystal drops (vaidūrya—) and the Buddha did come immediately.

Having seen such wonders, the members of the assembly were greatly astonished. It enhanced their deep faith in the Blessed One and they promised him never to be the follower of the heretics.

When the Brahmacārin obtained his boon, with all his limbs thrown flat on the ground in showing great veneration, he made the following great vow:

"By the merits of this fragrance, the flowers and the sprinkled water, may in the generations to come, the blind creatures' have eyes, the shelterless be sheltered, the protectionless be protected, those who are in bondage be liberated, the comfortless be comforted and let those who have not yet attained Nirvāna immediately attain it."

When he made this vow, the Buddha smiled and rays of five colours radiated from his forehead. They made three circuits around him and finally entered into the crown of his head.

Now Ānanda stood up and said to the Blessed One: "The Tathāgata stands high and is ever serious. He never smiles, if it has no meaning. There must be a cause for his smiling now. Will the World-Honoured one be so pleased as to explain it at length?"

Then the Lord told Ānanda: "Have you, O Ānanda, seen the great Brahmācārin who offered incense, flowers and purified water?"

"Even so, O Lord" replied Ānanda.

"I smiled because that great Brahmācārin, after three Asaṅkheya Kalpas in the future, will become a Buddha, Acala (lit. 'unmoved') by name. He will bring deliverance to countless beings."

When the Bhiksus heard the words of the Buddha, they were happy and were ready to put them into practice.

No. 21 The Orphan Princess becomes a Pratyeka-Buddha

Outline:—In the past kalpas, there was a Buddha, Krakucchanda (Kia-lo-kia-sun-t'o) by name in Benares. There lived a rich man's son who used to go to a prostitute after his father's death. Later on he was refused by the girl, because his purse had dwindled away. But he entreated her again and again to allow him to stay one night more; she agreed under the condition that he should bring her a nice flower. Since he had no money to buy the same, he stole it from the king's stūpa. He succeeded in his mission and spent the night with the girl. Unfortunately he suffered terrible pain from big boils on his body the next morning. Doctors were called in and they prescribed the scent, Gosiṛṣa-candana for him. He knew what was the cause of the trouble, and offered many ounces of that sandal-wood paste to the stūpa from which he stole the flowers, instead of applying it on the body. He was immediately cured after he had expressed this sincere repentence. As a consequence thereof, he was always born on a lotus and possessed a fragrant body.

24. The Covetousness of Supriyā, the Old Woman.

When the Lord Buddha was staying in Anāthapiṇḍaka's Jetavana at Sravasti, there was in the palace of the queen (?) of king Prasenajit in that city, a courtesan, Supriyā by name, who was a great miser, had never any inclination for making charities. Though her age was so advanced yet she tried to save all eatables in every possible way.

Now the venerable Maudgalyāyana (Mu-lien) desired to deliver her from her miserable habit. Having dressed properly with begging bowl in hand, he with his supernatural power sprang up from the earth and stood in front of this old woman. He begged food from her, but being angry, she did not give any alms, though she was taking her meals at that time. When she finished her food, there remained a fruit and the utensil-washing water. She did not take them because the smell was awful. Maudgalyāyana asked for them. She being in a fit of anger gave them to him. When he obtained the articles, he lifted himself up in the sky and manifested eighteen kinds of supernatural powers. Being struck by such wonders, the old woman's faith and reverence were aroused, at the same time she regretted very much her misdeeds in the past. She died that very night and immediately took birth under a tree in a wild forest as a miserable person who subsisted on fruit and water only.

Many years had elapsed; one day king Prasenajit, accompanied by his ministers was going out for hunting. While chasing a group of deer he was dead thirsty and went towards the direction of that particular tree which was within his sight, with the object of obtaining some water. Not very far from the tree was a big heap of fire which prevented his approach. The king however could see from a distance a man sitting under the tree.

"Who are you sitting under this tree?" asked the king.

"I am the old courtesan, Supriyā by name, of king Prasenajit's palace. I took my birth here for want of charities. Will you show pity on me. O great king, by inviting the Buddha and the Saṅgha and making offerings to them, on my behalf,

so that I may get rid of this ugly and disgusting existence?" replied the old woman.

"Will it be of any use if I perform the act of merit on your behalf?" asked the king.

"One is sure to be benefited and you will see it as well", replied the man.

Having heard this, king Prasenajit ordered his soldiers to post themselves within the hearing distance of one hundred steps in order to transmit the news to him whether that man would be benefited or not. He then returned to the city, invited the Buddha and his disciples and made offerings to them on his behalf. When he declared the purpose of his invitation, the man under the tree instantly saw various excellent dishes being presented to him. Of course, he was informed to that effect and he knew that his effort was not in vain.

He showed great respect to the Buddha and had a deep faith in him. After the Blessed One had preached his doctrine to him, he attained the first stage of fruition leading to arhatship.

When the Bhiksus heard the words of the Buddha they were gladdened and were ready to put them into practice.

30. *The Story of the Robber 'Bad Slave' (Kudāsa?)*

When the Lord Buddha was staying in Anāthapiṇḍaka's Jetavana at Srāvasti, there was a foolish man in that city, Kudāsa by name. He took delight in hiding himself somewhere in order to capture and seize other peoples' properties. That was how he maintained himself.

There was a Bhikṣu in the cemetery spending his time in meditation and other religious practices. At the meal time having arranged his robe properly, taking bowl in hand, he entered the city for begging alms. When a householder saw his well-behaved manner, he had great respect for him. Taking a blanket from his house he offered it to him. On his return to the cemetery, the thief on seeing a blanket in his hand, begged it and the Bhikṣu gave it to him. And on the following day he went there again and asked for his garment, he also gave it. On the third day, while that Bhikṣu returned from alms-begging, he asked for his bowl. The Bhikṣu thought

within himself thus: "This bowl alone is very necessary for begging food and maintaining my life. This evil person has no contentment; he wants that also. Now I must find out a means to make him take refuge in the Buddha, Dharma etc., so that he may not come again and ask for things." Having so thought, he said to the thief: "Please wait for a moment and let me take a little rest. I shall give you the bowl then."

While the thief was waiting for the bowl, the Bhikṣu took a rope, made a trap inside the door and said to the thief: "I am now quite tired; it is not easy for me to get up. You stretch your hand through the door and I shall give you the bowl."

As soon as the thief put forth his hand inside the door, the Bhikṣu pulled the rope. He was caught and was tied to the leg of a bed-stead. The Bhikṣu then came out, beat him with a stick, and cried out: "The first stroke makes you take refuge in the Buddha." He felt much pain and fainted for a long time. When he came to senses, the Bhikṣu beat him again saying: "The second stroke makes you take refuge in the Dharma." He felt greater pain and appeared as if he was going to die. After a long time he recovered again and was overwhelmed with reproaches; while the Bhikṣu struck him again saying: "The third stroke makes you take refuge in the Saṅgha." The thief thought to himself: "The pain of this type of punishment which has gone to my heart and bones is inexpressible. If now I don't yield and if he gives me the fourth Refuge, I am sure I shall die."

Having thought thus, he yielded and the Bhikṣu released him.

As soon as he was set free, he approached the Buddha and cried aloud: "The Blessed One has been really compassionate in sending one of the Bhikṣus to confer upon me the Three Refuges and I was able to escape the jaw of death. If I had been given the Fourth Refuge, I must have been dead beyond any doubt and I would have no opportunity to take shelter in him."

Now the Blessed One knowing that the mind of the thief

had been set in order, preached the doctrine to him. His vision was greatly broadened and instantly he attained the first stage of the Four Fruitions. Whereupon he requested the Buddha to make him a Parivrājaka "O good Bhikṣu, your hair and beard will disappear by themselves; the robe of Dharma will be worn by you and now you are a Śramaṇa", said the Blessed One.

Later on he put himself into practice the teachings of the Buddha very diligently. He attained Arhatship, the three supreme knowledge, the six supernatural powers and the eight kinds of vimokṣa. Both the Gods and men respected him greatly.

When the Bhikṣus heard the words of the Buddha, they were gladdened and were ready to put them into practice.

80. The Story of a Thief

When the Lord Buddha was staying in the two-storied building in Vaiśālī, there was a foolish man in that city who took delight in stealing and subsequently he subsisted on that trade, and that was known to all the people there.

On one occasion he heard that there were good brass vases in the monastery; therefore he was desirous of stealing them. He entered into the monastery with other wayfarers. He tried to steal the objects, but failed. However he heard one of the Bhikṣus uttering a verse of four sentences: "The winking of the Gods is very slow and that of human beings is very quick." Keeping these words in mind he departed thence.

Now there were merchants coming from a distant land, who brought a priceless excellent jewel and offered it to the king. The king ordered a man to place it on the top of a Stūpa. When the thief heard about it, he secretly stole it and hid it himself. The king was in great rage when the news about the loss of the jewel from the top of the Stūpa reached him. He issued a decree to the country that if the person who had seen it would report to him secretly, he would give him a handsome reward. But nobody responded for a long time. Having failed to map out any better scheme, the king was distressed and at a

loss as to what he should do. Now, this king had a wise minister who came and spoke to him thus:

"The people in our territory are prosperous and happy. There is therefore hardly any thief. However, it is known throughout the country that there is a thief who engaged himself in stealing as his profession and maintained himself with that. This jewel must have been stolen by him. If now we bind him, thrash him and impose upon him punishment, he is sure not to confess it. O great King, we should entrap him with an intelligent trick and know whether he is the real thief."

The king asked the minister about his trick; the wise one said: "We shall secretly send men to invite this thief to partake of different dishes and drinks and let him be quite drunk. They will carry him to the palace without his knowledge. Moreover we shall decorate the halls of the palace and adorn the courtesans excellently and order them to perform music in order to please him. The thief then, of course, will be awakened. Then each of the courtesans will have to speak to him in the following words as instructed: 'It is because you stole a jewel from the top of a Stūpa in Jambudvīpa, you have now been in the Tao-li (Trayastrīmśa) Heaven and we courtesans are to wait upon you and perform music for you. Is it not so?'"

This plan was carried out accordingly. When still in a state of intoxication, the thief was going to tell the truth but feared it might be a delusion. He wanted to evade the question, but was pressed hard by the courtesans. However, at the very moment, a flash of memory enlightened him. He thought: "I heard the utterances of the Sramanas sometime ago that the winking of the Gods is very slow and that of human beings is very quick. Now, the courtesans wink very fast, to be sure, they are not goddesses." In the meanwhile he lowered his head and did not wish to say anything. Later on, he recovered fully. The authorities did not accuse him of theft and he was free to go.

When this plan failed to materialise, the wise minister again said to the king that another trick should be adopted. In reply to the king's enquiry about the plan, he said: "O Great

King, you may pretend to be very kind to the thief and order him to be your finance minister. You entrust your treasury to him but make separate records secretly. Later you may speak to him softly thus: 'Now there is no other person so close to me as you. You should guard the treasury carefully and don't let anything get lost'. When the thief hears such words, he must be very happy, then you may gradually ask him thus: 'Do you know anything about my jewel which was kept on the top of a Stūpa?' He is sure to confess, because every valuable and precious thing of the king has been entrusted to him."

King Po-sse-ni (Prasenajit) carried out the plan according to the advice of the minister and the thief admitted his guilt as predicted by that minister and said: "This valuable jewel was indeed stolen by me. I was in great fear, therefore I dared not come out."

"When you were drunken formerly and lying in the hall of my palace, the girls questioned you and informed that you were in the Tao-li Heaven why didn't you confess them?" asked the king.

The thief-minister replied: "Once I entered a monastery and heard a gāthā of four sentences from the Bhikṣu that 'the winking of the God is very slow and that of the human beings is very quick'. I remembered it and knew I was not in the heaven; therefore I did not admit my guilt."

Having obtained his valuable jewel again, king Prasenajit was overjoyed, and pardoned the crime of the thief-minister.

Being set free the thief said to the king: "O Great King, please forgive me and allow me to become a Bhikṣu."

"Now you are respected, prosperous, rich and happy; you may go on with it. Why you want to become a homeless one?" questioned the king.

"I escaped from death and other dangers, and it is because that I had heard a gāthā of four sentences from a Bhikṣu. How much more benefit I shall get if I hear, recite and practise more as instructed. I wish therefore to become a homeless one, practise diligently, obtain the arhatship, the three *vidyā*, the

six *abhijnā*, possess the eight *vimokṣa* and be honoured by god and men.”

When the Bhikṣus heard the words of the Buddha, they were gladdened and were ready to put them into practice.

89. *Bhaddiya, king of the Sākyas becomes a Bhikṣu*

“.... King Suddhodhana, father of the Blessed One, selected 500 Sākyā youths to be attendants of the Buddha. Before they approached the Buddha, Upāli was asked to shave off their hair and beard. His tears dropped on the king of the Sākyas. The king questioned him why he did so. In reply, Upāli said: “Because you are the chief of the Sākyas and nobody could imagine that all on a sudden you would destroy your figure, take coarse rice and wear robes from the dustbin. I could not help weeping when I saw you in such condition.”

Hearing these words, the king was sad and himself felt very proud. After the shaving was over, taking bowl and robes, the king entered into the midst of the Saṅgha and saluted them with the intention of receiving his ordination. When he approached nearer to Upāli he refused to show respect to him. The Buddha questioned him on what ground he did not wish to salute Upāli. ‘He is low and I am noble, therefore I don’t worship him’ replied king Bhaddiya. ‘In my Dharma there is no distinction between high-born and low-born. Everything is unreal and subject to danger said the Buddha. ‘He is my servant, I feel awkward to show respect to him’-replied the king. ‘What is the difference between the master and the servant, the rich and the poor, the noble and the low, love and separation?’, further said the Buddha to the king.

Having heard the words of the Tathāgata, he respectfully saluted Upāli. At the very moment, the earth trembled and words of praise burst forth from heaven”

88. *Gāngika.*

Outline:—The story runs that there was a king in the city of Benares, Brahmadatta by name in the past. One day he took the ladies of the palace for a picnic in the forest. When

the girls were singing, there came a loud accompanying tune from somewhere outside their encampment. The king was rather angry with the stranger's behaviour, he ordered his arrest and the latter's execution was to take place soon. When the prime minister of the king happened to know of this incident, he pleaded on his behalf and said that the man had been innocent. Finally the king pardoned him and he was set free.

As a gesture of gratitude, that man became the minister's servant and served him faithfully for many years. Later on he thought of the suffering of the world and desired to become an ascetic. His request was gladly met and he attained the Pratyeka-Buddhaship after sometime through hard effort.

The prime minister is identified with Gāṅgika of the present story.

99. The Brahmin with Long Nails (Dirghanakha)

When the Blessed One was staying in the Kālandaka Bamboo Grove in Rājagrīha, there was in that city a Brahmin, Ti-she by name. He had two children: the son was called Dirghanakha and the daughter Sārī. The boy being intelligent and learned was good in debate and used to hold discussion with his sister Sārī, and often won victory over her. Later when his sister was pregnant, he had another debate with her, but he was defeated this time. Now he thought to himself thus: "Formerly I often used to defeat my sister in discussions. Since her pregnancy, she has been in a better position; it must be the power of virtue of her unborn child. When he is born, he is sure to gain mastery over me in debate. Now I must travel extensively, learn the four Vedas and the eighteen kinds of arts. Then I may return home and hold discussions with this expected nephew." Having so thought, he started for South India to learn all the Śāstras, and made a vow that he would never cut his nails if he does not successfully become a first-rate master.

When the time was up, his sister gave birth to a son. He was named after his mother and was therefore called Sarīputra.

The boy was handsome, outstanding, intelligent and clever. He had mastered all the Sāstras and therefore there was hardly any one suitable to be his opponent in debate.

Now, the Brahmins in the Rājgarha city beat a big golden drum in order to assemble eighteen lacs of people to meet at the debating ground where four lofty seats were prepared. Sāriputra at this time was eight years old. He came to that place and asked the people for whom those four seats were prepared. "One for the king, one for the prince, one for the Prime Minister and the fourth for the debater", replied the bystanders.

Having heard the reply, Sāriputra ascended the high seat for the debater and sat on that at ease. The old and learned Brahmins, as well as others present there were greatly astonished and thought within themselves: "If we, the learned debaters, win victory over that child, that is in no way to be admired; but if we are defeated, it will be indeed a great shame." Therefore they sent a young Brahmin of lower seat to discuss with Sāriputra. After a few questions, the Brahmin was silenced and he had no further statement to offer. By turn, it gradually reached the seats of great Brahmins. They were also defeated after a few questions.

When Sāriputra won the debate, his fame spread far and wide in the sixteen great kingdoms. He was known to be possessing wisdom and deep learning in which there was none who could surpass him. One day while in Rājagṛha, he went up, gazed all round and saw that the people in the city were celebrating a big festival. It occurred to his mind thus: "After one hundred years these creatures will be transformed into void and ether." With such thoughts he descended the stairs and became a mendicant in the religion of the heretics.

Now the Tathāgata had just attained his enlightenment; therefore he was not yet well-known in the sixteen big kingdoms. With his great compassion and desire for preaching his doctrine, he sent Bhiksu Abhijit (*O-p'i*) to Rājagṛha for begging alms. Seeing his good manners, Sāriputra spoke to himself: "Who is this man being so virtuous? I had never seen such a

Bhikṣu before." Thereupon he approached him and asked : "You have such nice conduct; who is your master?"

In answer to the question, Bhikṣu Abhijit uttered the following gāthā :

"My teacher is God of Gods,
He is supreme in the three worlds.
His majestic figure is sixteen feet in height
And he travels in the air with divine powers."

Having uttered this gāthā, Bhikṣu Abhijit stood in silence. Śāriputra said to him that he had long ago heard of the supernatural powers and appearance of his master, but he would like to know according to what law he, the Buddha, had realised and attained such excellence. Bhikṣu Abhijit thereby uttered another gāthā :

"The five Skandhas such as name and form
have been removed and
the twelve senses destroyed.
He is not fond of either heavenly or
worldy pleasures.
With this pure mind, he opens
the Gate of the Dharma."

"What did your teacher practise and for how long did he preach?" asked Śāriputra.

"Because I am quite young
My learning is just at the beginning.
The deep, vast, great and true doctrine
of the Tathāgata it is impossible for me to explain."

By uttering this gāthā the Bhikṣu Abhijit made his reply.

"Do tell me what is the doctrine of your master" said Śāriputra.

"In all existing conditions
there is no creator or master;
Everything is void in nature and subject to cessation.
Rest your mind at peace and know its origin.
One is called 'Sramana' if he so meditates."

replied Bhikṣu Abhijit.

After having heard this gāthā, Śāriputra's mind was immediately enlightened and he attained the first fruition of the four *phalas*. Now Maudgalyāyana saw from the appearance of Śāriputra that he was in a joyful mood; he asked him and said: "Formerly I had an agreement with you that if one of us first obtained the nectar of Dharma he should give it to the other. Now I find that you have attained something, so you are in a mood of joy."

Śāriputra recited the aforesaid gāthā three times for him and being delighted he too attained the first fruition of the Four phalas. When they both found the way to the Truth, they were very happy, gathered their pupils and informed them what had happened. They further said to them: "Now, we desire to go to the Buddha's place and become his disciple; what are your opinions?" *

"If our great masters wish to learn the doctrine of Gautama, we pupils, of course, will follow suit"—replied their disciples.

Hearing this answer, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, each led his 250 disciples, with Bhikṣu Abhijit as their guide, and arrived at the Bamboo Grove. Being very glad to see the 32 signs and 80 marks of the Tathāgata, shining like a congregation of 100 thousand suns, they saluted at the feet of the Buddha and requested to be allowed to become Buddhist Bhiksus, the Blessed One granted them the permission and said: "O great Bhiksus your hair and beard will disappear by themselves, the robe of Dharma will be worn by you, and now you are a Sramaṇa. If you learn and practise the doctrine diligently, you will attain Arhatship, the three vidyā, the six abhijñā and the eight kinds of vimokṣa. Both God and men will respect you greatly."

Now the elder Brahmin, the uncle of Śāriputra came to know that his nephew had become a disciple of the Buddha, was greatly irritated and vexed, saying: "This my nephew Śāriputra being very intelligent and clever, has mastered all the classics and the honoured schools of the 16 big kingdoms are admiring his merit. Why should he all on a sudden abandon this distinguished reputation and wait upon Gautama?"

Coming back from South India he approached the Buddha and started discussions with him. The Blessed One said to the Brahmin—"What you have seen is not the ultimate path of Nirvāṇa." Hearing these words he kept silent even after being questioned for three times. At that time, the secret signs of Vajra appeared in the sky making a threatening gesture on the Brahmin's head with his staff and said: "I shall crush you into pieces with this staff if you don't answer." Now there arose great fear in the mind of the Brahmin, he perspired and wiped the sweat off. Seeing there would be no way out and no means to save his face, he admitted his defeat, showed respect to the Buddha and entreated the Blessed One to accept him as his disciple. The Buddha permitted him to do so and said: "O good Bhikṣu, your hair and beard will disappear by themselves, the robe of Dharma will be worn by you, and now you are a Sramana. If you learn and practise the doctrine very diligently, you will attain Arhatship."

Having seen this incident, the Bhikṣus told the Buddha: "O World-Honoured one, what good deeds did this Brahmin cultivate in his previous birth that he had the opportunity to meet the Blessed One and attain enlightenment after being admitted as Buddha's disciple?"

(Then the Buddha went on to relate the past story of a Pratveka-Buddha, how he was captured by the thieves in a forest and how he was honoured by them after he had shown his supernatural power by flying in the sky. This past story is the same as in the Sanskrit. See *Aradānaśataka*, 99.)

100. *The Handsome Sundara.*

When the Lord Buddha was staying in the Kālandaka Bamboo grove in Rājagrīha, a child was born to the queen of king Prasenajit after she had completed her ten months of pregnancy. The prince possessed a beauty which nobody in the world could surpass. His two eyes were clear and bright like those of a *kunāla* bird. The king therefore named him Kunāla. He was adorned with jewellery and fine and best attire. He was carried in arms by the attendants, who were touring from village to

village. This question was put to the people by the king: "Is there in this world any other child as handsome as my son?"

Now in one of the villages, there were many merchants who said to the king: "If Your Majesty will pardon us and grant us permission, then we may speak."

"Speak freely, and don't be afraid" said the king.

"In our native village there is a child, Sundara by name. His extraordinary handsome appearance is just like the God and is one hundred thousand times better than the prince. Moreover, at the time of his birth, there appeared miraculously a spring in his house, the water of which was fragrant, cool and sweet. Besides this, there was a large quantity of gems in the spring."

Having heard the words of the merchants, King Prasenajit immediately sent a messenger and let that village be informed that the king was going to arrive at that place and see Sundara. The chief of the village heard that the king would come there; he consulted with others (and agreed) that they were not in a position to entertain the king, if the king should arrive. Therefore, they decided to send the boy to the king before the latter's departure. They then adorned the boy with jewellery and clothed him with excellent apparel and he was presented to the king. When the king saw the exquisite and unrivalled beauty of the boy Sundara, he was highly surprised and considered it to be a wonder. Taking the boy to the Buddha, he desired to ask him about the cause of his having attained such beauty. When the child saw the 32 signs and 80 marks of the Tathāgata shining like a congregation of one hundred suns, he was extremely happy, saluted his feet and sat on one side. The Blessed One preached the four noble truths to him. Being enlightened, he attained the first stage, of the Four Fruitions and requested the Buddha to permit him to become a Bhikṣu. The Blessed One told him: "O Good Bhikṣu, your hair and beard will disappear by themselves, the robe of Dharma will be worn by you and now you are a Sramana."

Having learnt and practised in accordance with the Dharma he soon attained Arhatship.

Seeing this, King Prasenajit said to the Buddha. "O world honoured one, what good deeds did this Bhikṣu Sundara do in his previous birth that at the time of his birth there appeared miraculously a spring full of gems and precious stones in his house? Furthermore why is he fortunate enough to meet the Blessed One and attain enlightenment by renouncing the world?"

"Listen to me attentively," said the Buddha to king Prasenajit, "I shall now explain it to you in detail. In this Bhadrakalpa, there was a Buddha in Benares, Kāśyapa by name, who had eighteen thousand Bhikṣus practising meditation in a forest. A householder happened to come over there and see them. Being very much pleased, he went home, prepared scented water for the Saṅgha to bathe and offered them delicacies. After the meal was over, he put jewels into a water jar and offered it to the Saṅgha and announced his wishes. It is on account of this merit that he did not fall into hell, but was always born up in the paradise along with a spring full of jewels and gems. O Great King, if you wish to know the great householder who had bathed the Saṅgha and offered them food and consequently obtained the reward of beauty, he is the Bhikṣu Sundara whom you see now."

When king Prasenajit heard the words of the Blessed One, he was greatly happy and ready to obey his instructions.

FA CHOW

A note on the *Avadānasatka* and its Chinese translation

While comparing the *Avadānas* with the *Jātaka* Stories Dr. Speyer says. "The *Avadāna* type is nearly related to the *Jātaka*. Both concern edifying tales told with the purpose of inculcating moral precepts as taught by the *Saddharma* revealed by the *Buddhas*." (*Avadānaśataka*, Preface, p. iv). The stories of the *Avadānaśataka* have also the same character. Some of the stories may be labelled as *Jātaka* proper. A *Jātaka*, judged by the *Pāli* collection of *Jātaka* stories, contains a story of the past "within the outer frame-work, constituted by the introductory episode and the concluding identification." A large number of stories of the *Avadānaśataka* contains a past story, within the frame-work of a present one with the identification. This identification is in some cases with the Buddha himself (cf. no. 31-38—कि मन्यध्वे भिन्नवो योऽसौ तेन कालेन तेन समयेन.....नाम राजावभूवाहं सः) and in other cases less important persons (cf. no. 88—कि मन्यध्वे भिन्नवो योऽसौ सार्थवाह एष एवासौ कपिकण्ठो राजा तेन कालेन तेन समयेन). Thus the presence of such different types of stories in the *Avadānaśataka* shows the importance of the collection in the development of the *Jātaka* stories.

The Chinese translation of the *Avadānaśataka* is very ancient. The title of the translation in Chinese is called *Chuan tsi pai yuan king*—Nanjo 1324 and Taisho 200. The translation is attributed to *Upāsaka Che-kien* of the *Yue-che* country. *Che-kien* was an Indo-Scythian *Upāsaka* and is mentioned as such in all the Chinese Buddhist sources. It is said that he was at first at *Lo-yang* but on account of the political upheaval towards the end of the reign of *Han Hien-ti* (190-220 A.D.) was compelled to leave the north and to go to the south. He worked at *Kien-ye* (Nanking) till the *K'ien-hing* period (252-253 A.D.) and translated a large number of texts into Chinese. The period of his activity therefore extended

from about 220 to 252 A.D. and the translation of the *Avadānaśataka* also belongs to that period (*Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine I*, pp. 284-285).

As the Chinese translation of the *Avadānaśataka* belongs to the middle of the third century A.D. it is just possible that the date of the original must be placed about a hundred years earlier in the middle of the second century A.D. or a little earlier. Speyer suggests 100 A.D. as a good date for it. But this cannot be the date of the Sanskrit collection in its present form. A comparison of the text with the Chinese translation clearly shows that the original text was a much shorter text consisting only of the bare stories. The present text contains a large number of interpolations and amplifications.

This is clearly brought out by the absence in the Chinese translation of the stereotyped passages which have been repeated on many occasions and which Speyer would call *clichés*. Speyer is of opinion that these *clichés* "belong to the ancient Holy Writ of the oldest Buddhism". Whether they belong to the oldest Buddhism or not, it is certain that they are interpolation in the present *Avadānaśataka*. Let us examine some of these *clichés*:

(1) The description of Buddha and his followers at the commencement of the Avadānas: बुद्धो भगवान् सतकृतो गुरुकृतो मानितः पूजितो.....सम्भावकसङ्गो राजगृहमुपनिषिद्य विहरति वेणुवने..... This long passage invariably occurs at the commencement of all the Avadānas but it is not found in the corresponding Chinese translations in which we have simply, in the manner of the old Sūtras: "बुद्धो विहरति राजगृहे कालन्दकवेणुवने"

(2) The long description of the smile of Buddha which occurs in a number of Avadānas is not found in the Chinese translation. The description starts with यस्मिन् समये बुद्धो भगवन्तः स्मितं प्राविष्कर्वन्ति तस्मिन् समये नीलपीतलोहितावदाता अचिंषो मुखाभिष्कार्य..... अथ ता अचिंषो भगवन्तं तिःप्रदक्षिणीकृत्य भगवते उष्णीषेऽन्तर्हिताः । अथायुष्मानानदः कृतकरपुटो भगवन्तं पप्रच्छ.....(then follows a number of gāthās). See Sanskrit text—pp. 4-6; pp. 10-12; pp. 19-21; pp. 25-27;

pp. 32-34; pp. 37-40; pp. 43-45; pp. 51-53; pp. 59-61; pp. 97-99. pp. 113-116; pp. 125-128; pp. 131-133; pp. 140-142; pp. 145-147; pp. 150-152; pp. 154-156; pp. 159-161; pp. 164-166. The passage constitutes more than half of the *Avadāna* in which it occurs. Instead of the long passage we have in Chinese—"When Buddha smiled rays of five colours went out of his mouth, they illuminated the three worlds and produced different kinds of colours. They went round the Buddha three times and then entered the top of his head. Then Ānanda came to Buddha and said: It is not in vain that the Tathāgata has smiled, what is the reason." (There is nothing corresponding to the gāthās in Chinese). Speyer has drawn attention to the fact that the same description of the smile of Buddha occurs in many places of the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 67.16-69.27; 138.1-140.7; 265.15-267.7; 366.24-368.17; 568.7-570.2 Cowell and Neils' edition). But in the *Divyāvadāna* too it must have been a later interpolation. This becomes evident if we compare the original of some of the *Avadānas* of the collection with their earliest Chinese translation. The *Avadānas* of the Aśokan cycle were translated about 300 A.D. by Ngan Fa-k'in under the title *A yu wang chuan* (for the French translation of the work cf. Przyluski, *La légende de l'Empereur Aśoka* pp. 225ff.). The long description of the smile that occurs in the *Pāmśupradāna-avadāna* (*Divy.* pp. 366.24-368.17) is not found in the Chinese translation (cf. Przyluski, *ibid.*, p. 227); we have instead the simple statement—"At this moment the Lord smiled. Ānanda bowed, joined his palm and said to Buddha—O, Lord, it is not without reason that Buddha smiles. For what reason have you smiled?" So the occurrence of the passage in the *Divyāvadāna* and its absence in the corresponding Chinese translation of the 3rd century A.D., shows clearly that the passage was developed and interpolated in the *Avadānas* of the *Avadānaśataka* and the *Divyāvadāna* after 300 A.D.

(3) The rationalistic commonplace on the actual causes of begetting children without the direct influence of some deity cf.

Avadānaśataka, p. 13.6-15.7 श्रेष्ठी प्रतिवसति महाधनो महामोगा विस्तीर्ण-विशालपरिप्रह.....साधार्ना वा नवानां मासानामत्ययात् प्रसूता । दारको जातः..... cf. *Divyāvadāna*, 1.5—2.24, 98.18—99.17, 440.4—441.6. This passage does not occur in the Chinese translation of the *Avadānaśataka* cf. for example the translation of the third *Avadāna*—“There was a śreṣṭhi, exceedingly rich and famous. He had a son named Nanda”.

The same thing may be said about other stereotyped passages or *clichés* of the *Avadānaśataka*. The passages do not form integral parts of the stories but are embellishments. They are interpolations concerning the qualities of the Buddha, the Arhats etc. and point out to a period when there had been a considerable development of the conception of the Buddhahood and the Buddhist doctrines. The embellishment also must have belonged to that period.

The hundredth *Avadāna* of the Sanskrit text is called *Saṅgīti*, “Council”. It has a second part which contains the story of Sundara, a story which belongs of the Aśokan cycle of legends. The story runs as follows: Aśoka, king of Pāṭaliputra, had a very beautiful son named Kuṇāla. The king was so much taken by his son's beauty that he often used to say “There is nobody so beautiful as my son in this world.” Now some merchants of Gandhāra came to Pāṭaliputra. Aśoka enquired of them whether there was anybody more beautiful than his son. The merchants replied that there was in their country a youngman named Sundara who was the most beautiful among all men and that many miracles happened when he was born. Aśoka was astonished and made him come to Pāṭaliputra. When he saw him he admitted that he was the most beautiful of all men. Aśoka then asked venerable Upagupta what was the cause of this beauty. Upagupta said that in a previous birth, at the time of the first Council, Sundara had acquired merits by making offering to Kāśyapa and others of the Buddhist Saṅgha.

M. Przyluski made a special study of this text and after comparing it with other similar texts declared that the first

portion of the story, the account of the council, closely agrees with the account in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavina*ya and in other texts of the same school. (*Le Parinirvāṇa et les Funérailles du Buddha*, J. AS. 1918-20, pp 485-526). This agreement and the association of the second part of the story with the Aśokan cycle of stories found only in the *Divyāvadāna*, which is again a work of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* school shows, according to Przyluski, that the *Avadānaśataka* belonged to the same school.

The Chinese translation which represents the text as it was in the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. and which such a careful scholar as Przyluski, did not think of consulting, gives a different picture altogether. The story in Chinese is called the "Story of Sundara". It will appear from the English translation of the Chinese version that the first portion relating to the council (Sangiti) is not there. The main story, the story of Sundara is almost in the same words as those of the Sanskrit text but with important differences. The king is not Aśoka but Prasenajit. The merchants do not come from Gandhāra but from a village. Sundara in his previous life honoured not Kāśyapa, the disciple of Buddha, but Kāśyapa, the former Buddha. This is in perfect agreement with other stories of the *Avadānaśataka* in which the former Buddha Kāśyapa is honoured by the hero of the story. The time again is not the time of the first Council but some indefinite period in the Bhadrakalpa. All these go against the theory of Przyluski that the *Avadānaśataka* belonged to the *Mūlasarvāstivāda*. They rather show that *Mūlasarvāstivādins* re-edited the text sometime after the 3rd century when they introduced the story of the council in the text and rewrote the story of Sundara so that it might fit in with their scheme of the Aśokan cycle of legends. It was probably then that the long stereotyped passages or *clichés* were introduced from the *Divyāvadāna* or the *Vinaya* of their school in places where there were originally simple passages. It was at this stage that the name of Prasenajit was changed into Aśoka, the name of Gandhāra was introduced in the place of an unknown village and the name of Upagupta

was introduced in the place of the name of Buddha, as it was not possible to pretend that Aśoka could have an interlocution with Buddha himself. The substitution of the name of Kāśyapa or Mahākāśyapa for Kāśyapa the former Buddha was again another deliberate act, as Mahākāśyapa was the first patriarch according to the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition (Przyluski, *La légende de l'Empereur Aśoka*, p. 47).

The idea of this rehandling probably was actuated by the name of the son of Prasenajit. In the Chinese version it is said: "The prince possessed a beauty which nobody in the world could surpass. His two eyes were clear and bright like those of a Kuṇāla bird. The king therefore named him Kuṇāla." (=Skt. दारका जातो अभिरूपो दर्शणीयः प्रासादिकः कुणाल-सदशास्त्रां नेत्राभ्यां ।.....यस्मादस्य जातमाकस्य कुणालसद्वरो नेत्रे तस्माद्भवतु दारकस्य कुणाल इति नामेति । A. S., p. 201). The name of Kuṇāla need not make us think at once of the son of Aśoka. The name of Aśoka's son was Dharmavivardhana. He came to be known as Kuṇāla later. On finding that the eyes of the prince were of rare beauty Aśoka one day said: "I have heard from reports that in the Himalaya, there is a bird called Kuṇāla of which the eyes are very beautiful." He then ordered a Yakṣa to find the bird for him. The Yakṣa brought it to him immediately. When he saw the bird he said. "Its small eyes are very beautiful and do not at all differ from the eyes of the child. So let him be called Kuṇāla." So the prince came to be known as Kuṇāla (Przyluski, *Le légende*.....p. 282). So it is a matter of renaming in the case of Aśoka's son while it is the original name in the case of Prasenajit's son. It is just possible that Kuṇāla was a common pet name of children in ancient times on account of the fabulous beauty of the eyes of the bird.

Sutra on Dreams of King Prasenajit¹

Thus I have heard: Once Buddha was at Srāvasti, in Jetavana, the garden of Anāthapindā. At this time, the king Pu-li-sien-ni (Prasenajit), while he was in bed during the night, saw in dreams ten things. What were these ten things? First, he saw in dream that three jars had been put together. Two jars on the sides were filled with vapours which were coming out and were passing from the one to the other in two directions, but were not carried into the jar at the centre which remained empty. Secondly he saw in dream a horse which was eating by its muzzle and also eating by its back side. Thirdly, he saw in dream a little tree which bore flowers.² Fourthly he saw in dream a little tree which produced fruits. Fifthly

1. The Chinese Tripitaka has four translations of this text. One of these (Trip., XII, 4, pp. 42v.-43r.) which is somewhat abridged is to be found only in the Corean edition and consequently omitted from Nanjio's Catalogue. It is called: *Fo shuo sho wei kuo wang she mong king*; the name of the translator is not known, but it is admitted that he was living at the time of Western Tsin dynasty (265-316 B.C.). A second translation (Trip., XII, 3, pp. 67v-68r) was found to be the work belonging to *Tseng a han king* (*Ekottarāgama Sūtra*; Nanjio, Catalogue no. 543 (52), translated in 384-385 by Dharmanandi (Nanjio, Catalogue, App. II, no. 57). A third translation (Trip., XII, 4, p. 11 vo: 42 r) is the *Sho wei kuo wang mong kien she she king* (Nanjio, Catalogue no. 631), or "Sūtras of ten things which the king of Srāvasti saw in dreams". The author of this translation is not known. Lastly, the fourth translation (Trip. XII, 4, pp. 43v-44 r) is that which we are translating here, it is the *Kouo wang pu li sien ni she mong king* (Nanjio, Catalogue, no. 632), or "Sūtra of ten dreams of King Prasenajit"; this version was made between 381 and 395 A.D. by *T'an-wu-lan* (Nanjio, Catalogue, App. II, no. 58).

2. This is also the reading of no. 631 of Nanjio. But the other two texts give the reading as "a great tree". The reading "a little tree" is preferable since in the interpretation that is given of this dream, the tree represents young man.

he saw in dream a man who manufactured a rope; behind the man there was a lamb; the master of the lamb was eating the rope.³ Sixthly he saw in dream a fox seated upon a bed of gold and eating in a vessel of gold. Seventhly, he saw in dream a big cow which, contrary to what it would have done, sucking a calf. Eighthly, he saw in dream four oxen who came bellowing from four directions of the horizon and ran at each other for fighting; at the moment when they had come to meet but were not yet joined, he knew not where they were gone (i.e. the oxen suddenly disappeared). Ninthly, he saw in dream a

3. In the *Mahāsupina-jātaka* (*Jātaka*, no. 77), the animal which gradually devours the rope is a female jackal (also see Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 305). Rouse (*A Jataka in Pausianas* in the 'Folklore', vol. I, 1890, p. 409) has been the first to point out the similarity of this text with a Greek Legend; in describing the picture of hell by Polygnote, *Pausanias* says: (x, 29, 2; see J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. V, p. 376; *Edinburgh Review*, April 1897, p. 458; *Hellenic Journal Studies*, vol. XIV, p. 81): "At a little distance, a man is seated; an inscription informs us that he is called Oknos. He is represented as holding a rope; near by him is a she-ass which stealthily devours the rope in proportion that he weaves it. This Oknos was said to be an industrious man, but he had an extravagant wife who within a short time spent all that he had earned by his work; therefore in this picture Polygnote may have made an allusion to the wife of Oknos. For me, I know that the Ionians speak of a man occupied with an useless task as: "He weaves the cord of Oknos"—If we have not had the picture of Polygnote, we would have been acquainted with half-a-dozen old figures of Oknos and his she-ass; one can see two of them reproduced in the article about Oknos that was written by M. Hofer for the *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Romischen Mythologie* of Roscher. The presence of the ass in the Greek Legend instead of the jackal or of the sheep of the Indian tradition can be explained by the nearly same homophony of the words Oknos and Onos. On the testimony of Diodorus Siculus, the legend of Oknos was found in Egypt under the form of a rite: "In the city of Acanthes, beyond the delta of the Nile, toward Lybia, about 120 stadia from Memphis, there is said to be a great perforated jar in which 360 priests bring everyday the water of the Nile; besides, in a public festival that is celebrated not far from there, one represents in action the myth of Oknos in the form of a man who weaves the end of a long rope whilst some men placed behind him, cut that which he has woven".

big pond surrounded by steep banks, in which the water was disturbed in the middle and clear about the four borders. Tenthly, he saw in dream a big torrent which was flowing absolutely red.

When the king had dreamt these things, he at once woke up, feared much of losing his kingdom, his own self, his wives and his children. Next day, he called his chief ministers, his high officials, as well as all religious men who could explain dreams; he requested them: "Yesterday, during the night, I was lying down and I have seen in dream ten things. After having seen these dreams I woke up; I have had a fright and my spirit has been without joy. Who can explain to me these dreams?" Amongst the reilgious men there was a Brahmin who said: "I can explain to Your Majesty, but I fear that when you will hear me, you might be sad and discontented." The king replied: "What you know explain at once and don't suppress anything." The Brahmin said: "Oh king, each one of these dreams that you have seen is bad and does not forebode of good. It is necessary for you to take those who are dearest to you, your women and your heir-apparent, also the servants and the slaves attached to your person, and kill them all for sacrifice to heaven. Then you would have nothing to fear. All your bedding, Oh king, you must burn for the sacrifice to heaven, also all the jewels and valuable objects that you have on your body. In this way, Oh king, you personally will not have anything to fear." After hearing the explanation that the Brahmin gave about the dreams, the king was extremely sad and discontented; he retired to the room of abstinence to think over these things.

Now the king had a chief wife called Mo-ni⁴ who came to him and said: "Why have you entered the room of abstinence and why are you afflicted and discontented? Have I committed some wrong towards Your Majesty?" The king replied,

4. All the other texts give the reading Mo-li which is preferable, since the name of the queen may have been Mālikā (Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, vol. 1, p. 587, n 1) or Mālinī (Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 304).

"No, you have not done any wrong towards me; it is for my own impulse that I am afflicted." The queen again asked, "What is, Oh king, the cause of your affliction?" The king replied, "Don't ask me, even if you know, you would not be at all happy." The queen replied, "Oh king, I am half of your body; whether it is good or bad you must tell me; for what reason would you not tell it to me?" The king said to his wife, "Yesterday during the night I saw in dreams ten things; after having seen these dreams I woke up and then a great melancholy and fright overcame me because I feared of losing my kingdom, also my own self, my wives and my children. I called all the ministers, the high dignitaries, and a number of monks to interpret the ten things that I have seen in dream. Now there was a Brahmin who explained to me this dream saying, 'you must know that all that are dear to you, your women, your heir-apparent, also, servants and slaves attached to your person, your white elephant, your famous horse, you have to slay for sacrifice to the heaven; also your beddings, the precious jewels that you have on your person must be entirely burnt in sacrifice to the heaven; then your person, Oh king, would rest sound and safe.' That is why I am afflicted and have no joy."

His wife said, "Oh King, do not grieve. Whenever a man wants to buy gold, he rubs it upon the touch-stone, and then beautiful or ugly, good or bad, its colour reveals on the stone. At present Buddha is very near in a Vihāra which is not far from the town; why not go and consult him about the significance of your dream? You conform yourself to the explanations that are given to you by the Buddha."

The king at once ordered the officers of his suit to equip his chariot, then he set out to go to Buddha. Arriving near a foot-path the king descended from his chariot and advanced towards Buddha; he bent his head at the feet of Buddha, then he drew back, sat and said to him "Last night, I have seen ten things. First I have seen in dream that there are three jars together these I saw in dream and when I woke up, I had

5. Repetition of what has been said before.

great fear; I am afraid of losing my kingdom, my own self, my wives and my children. I request Buddha to explain to me the sense of these ten things that I have dreamt; I desire to listen to your instructions.”

Buddha said: “Oh King, you need not feel grieved. This that you have dreamt is of no consequence. This that you have dreamt is about future things that would come to pass in generations to come but would not happen in present generation.” Buddha continued “In the generations to come the men would not fear the prohibitions prescribed by Law, they would be debauch, gluttons, envious and insatiable; they would have little of justice and reason and their hearts would be without any benevolence; they would gratify themselves with passion, and would not know kindness.”

Buddha again said: “In your first dream, you have seen three jars put together; the two jars on the sides filled with vapour that is coming out and passing from one to the other in two directions, but (these vapours) not entering the jar in the middle which remained empty. (This is what it means): In generations to come, people who would be powerful and of exalted dignity would seek each other but would not cast their regards on the poor. This exactly, Oh King, is represented in the group of three jars that you have seen in dream. Oh King, grieve not: this is of no concern to your kingdom, neither to your heir, nor to your wife.”

Buddha then said, “In your second dream, Oh king, you have seen a horse that eats both by its muzzle as well as by its hind parts. (This is what it means:) In the generations to come the kings and the principal ministers would extract food from the public granaries; but the local officers who are salaried would nevertheless press the people and would never be satisfied. This is exactly to your wife.”

Buddha said, “In your third dream you have seen a small tree which flowered. (This is what it means): In the generations to come, the people before attaining their thirtieth year, would have their hair turn white on their head, caused by

their thirst for debauchery and excess of passion; they would necessarily turn old in their youth. This is exactly to your wife”

Buddha said, “In your fourth dream, Oh king, you have seen a small tree bearing fruits. (This is what it means): In the generations to come, the girls before attaining their fifteenth year would behave as if they were married, they would hold children in their arms and would remain with their lovers without any feeling of shame. This is exactly . . . to your wife.”

Buddha said, “In your fifth dream, Oh king, you have seen a man who is manufacturing a cord, at the back of the man a sheep and the master of the sheep eating the cord. (This is what it means: In the generations to come when the husband of a woman would go out having to do trade, he would let alone the wife behind; she would have relations with another man who would eat up all the fortune of the husband. This is exactly . . . to your wife.”

Buddha said, “In your sixth dream, Oh king, you have seen a fox seated upon a bed of gold and eating from a golden vessel. (This is what it means)! In the generations to come the people of low and hateful conditions would be noble and honoured and would have wealth; people would respect and fear them. On the contrary the descendants of the lordly families would be poor; they would be in inferior places and would eat and drink after the others. This is exactly to your wife.”

Buddha said, “In your seventh dream, Oh king, you have seen a big-calf which, contrary to what it should have been, is sucking a calf. (This is exactly what it means): In the generations to come, the people would know neither the rites nor the justice, the mothers, contrary to what it should be, would serve as mediators to their girls and would bribe strangers to have relations with them; they would thus sell their daughters for gaining riches and provide for their own needs; they would not feel any shame for this. This is exactly . . . to your wife.”

Buddha said, "In your eighth dream, you have seen four oxen who came in bellowing from four sides of the horizon and ran at each other for fighting; at the moment when they came to meet but not yet joined, you knew not where they were gone. (This is what it means): In the generations to come, the kings, the princes, the prefects and magistrates and the general public would have sentiments absolutely bereft of sincerity; they would deceive each other, they would behave with stupidity and anger; they would not respect the Heaven and the Earth; this is why the fertility caused by the rain would not come at the required time. Then the magistrates and the people would make prayers demanding rain. The Heaven therefore would cause the clouds to come up suddenly from the four corners of the horizon, and the thunders would resound. The magistrates and the people would say that the rain is imminent; but instantaneously the clouds would disappear and go away, so that there would be no rain. The reason for this is that the kings, the princes, the prefects and the magistrates and the people would be wanting in fidelity, rectitude and kindness. This is exactly. . . . to your wife."

"In your ninth dream, Oh king, you have seen a big pond surrounded by steep banks in which the water was disturbed in the middle but clean about the four borders. (This is what it exactly means): In the generations to come, *Madhyadeśa* would be troubled, the government would be without justice. The people would not express their filial piety towards their parents and would not respect the old age. During this time the frontiers would remain calm and pure. The population would live in good harmony and would have respect towards their parents. This is exactly. . . . to your wife."

Buddha said, "In your tenth dream, Oh king, you have seen a big torrent of which colour is absolutely red. (This is what it means): In the generations to come the different kingdoms would fight between themselves. They would organise army and reassemble troops for attacking each other. It would be necessary for them to organise the battalions of

chariots, foot-soldiers, and horsemen to fight with each other. Those that would kill each other and hurt each other would be innumerable. The blood of the dead lying along the path would flow down absolutely red. This is extctly . . . to your wife."

Buddha said, "Oh king, all these that you have dreamt concern things of the future generations and have no bearing on things of the present generation. Do not therefore be afraid, Oh king, and do not torment yourself." The king knelt down and said "Now that I have obtained the instruction of Buddha, my heart rejoices. To take an example, a man bought a small vase full of liquid grease. The grease being copious and vase being small, the man procured another much bigger vase to put the grease in it. He was reassured and had nothing to fear. Now I having received the favour of Buddha, I am reassured."

Then the king rendered homage to the Buddha. He returned and when he got back to his palace, he made grand presents to his principal wives, and at the same time he deprived all the great ministers of their posts. The king declared: "Henceforth I do not believe the people belonging to heretical sects and I would not have faith in the words of Brahmins."

[Translated from Chavanne's *Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues*, III, pp. 317 ff.]

AMITENDRANATH TAGORE

Two Medical Texts in Chinese Translation

Introduction

The translations of medical texts in the Chinese Tripitaka are rare. Wherever there is any reference to disease and treatment, the usual course recommended is the recitation of dhāraṇīs. The Ayurvedic treatises mention treatment by the recitation of mantras or mystic formulae in certain cases, but that is not the only method recommended. It is only an alternative one. Two medical texts preserved in Chinese translation were studied by Dr. P. C. Bagchi a few years ago. One of them, the *Rāvanakumāra-tantra* (Taisho 1330, Nanjio 882) was translated by him and compared with the corresponding Sanskrit texts (*New materials for the study of the Kumāratantra of Rāvaṇa*, Indian Culture, VII. pp. 269-286). It deals with the treatment of children's diseases mainly by mantras. The other, the *Kāśyapa-ṛṣi-prokta-strīcikitsā-sūtra* (Nanjio 883, Taisho 1385) which he rightly recognised to be a fragment of the *Kāśyapasaṁhitā* is a purely medical treatise. It was also translated by him and compared with Sanskrit sources (*A fragment of the Kāśyapasaṁhitā in Chinese*, Indian Culture, IX, pp. 53-64). The text recommends medicine for the treatment of diseases of pregnant women.

We propose to present here two more medical texts preserved in the Chinese Tripitaka. The first of these two—*Fo shuo fo yi (wang) king* is a purely medical treatise. There is no recommendation in it on the use of magical formulae. It was translated very early, in the second quarter of the 3rd century A. D. under the Wu dynasty (222-280 A. D.). It was translated by an Indian monk, Liu-yen whose original name was probably Vinayātapa, in collaboration with the Indo-Scythian monk Che-yue alias Che-kien. Although the text is usually mentioned under the title *Fo shuo fo yi king*, a more correct title is given in the old catalogues as *Fo shuo fo yi wang king* (See Bagchi, *Le Canon*

Bouddhique en Chine, I, 302-303). It was restored by Nanjio as *Buddha-vaidyarāja-sūtra*, but a more correct restoration should be (*Buddha-prokta*)-*Buddha-bhaiṣajyarāja-sūtra* or simply *Bhaiṣajya-rāja-sūtra*. The exact date of the translation is given as 230 A. D. in the ancient sources. The text is found in Nanjio's Catalogue under no. 1327; Taisho 793; Shanghai edition, XIV, 8.

The second text that we have translated is the *Ts'ien shou ts'ien yen kuan she yin p'u sa ch'e ping ho yo king*. It was translated into Chinese by a monk of Western India named *Kia-fan-ta-mo* which seems to be a shortened form of *Fo kia fan ta mo*—Bhagavaddharma. Although no definite date of the translation is given, it seems to have been translated in the second quarter of the 7th century under the T'ang. The text is found in the Shanghai edition, vol. XXVI, 2, and Taisho 1059. The name of the text may be restored in Sanskrit as *Sahasra-bāhu-sahasrākṣa-avalokiteśvara bodhisattva-kṛta-cikitsā-bhaiṣajya-sūtra*. It may be called 'a mixed type of medical text' in which both medicine as well as magical formulae or *dhāraṇī* are recommended for the treatment of various diseases. The *dhāraṇī* to be recited in each case, does not occur in the text but it is almost certain that the *Mahākāruṇika-dhāraṇī*, translated by Bhagavaddharma, is meant. The full title of the *dhāraṇī* is *Ts'ien shou ts'ien yen kuan she yin p'u sa kuang ta yuan man wu ngai ta pei sin-to-lo-ni king—Sahasrabāhu-sahasrākṣa-avalokiteśvara-bodhisattva-mahā-purnāpratihata-mahākāruṇika-hṛdaya dhāraṇī-sūtra*, otherwise called *Nīlakanṭha (dhāraṇī)*, Nanjio 320, Taisho 1060; Shanghai XXVII, 10.

Although the second text has no special interest, the first one, the *Bhaiṣajyarāja-sūtra*, is of great importance in so far as it deals with certain general principles of medical system. It does not deal with particular diseases or their remedies but with the general causes of diseases and their prevention. It is curious that it deals with four causes of diseases, viz. Earth, Water, Fire and Wind. The occurrence of these in a text

which is supposed to have gone from India to China raises a very difficult problem.

In the traditional Indian system of medicine, nerve force (*vāta*, wind), metabolism (*pittam*, bile) and unutilized product of the system (*kapham*, phlegma) are described to be the three causes of all diseases. So the four elementary causes as mentioned in this *sūtra* may appear to be of non-Indian origin. But the theory of four causes is not totally unknown in India. We see in the *Suśrūta*:

शरीरास्त्वपानमूला वातपित्तकफशोणितसम्प्रिपातवैषम्यनिमित्ताः

Sūtrasthānam, 1, 24

“Diseases due to irregularities in food or drink or incidental to a deranged state of *vāyu*, *pittam*, *kapham*, and *śoṇitam* acting either singly or in concert, are called *Sarīra*.”

Moreover, व्याधिप्रहणात् वातपित्तकफशोणितसम्प्रिपातवैषम्यनिमित्ताः सर्व एव व्याधयो व्याध्याताः: *Ibid.*, I, 37

“The term *diseases* signifies all distempers incidental to the severed or combined actions of *vāyu*, *pittam*, *kapham* and *śoṇitam* (blood). All these diseases have been dealt with.”

Also, नत्यं देहः कफादस्ति न पित्तान् च मारुतात्।

शोणितादपि वा नित्यं देह एतैस्तु धार्यते ॥ *Ibid.*, XXI, 4

“There can be no organism without *vāyu*, *pittam*, *kapham* and *śoṇitam* (blood) which are necessary to constantly maintain its integrity.”

Moreover, it is said in the same text,

तदेभिरेव (वातपित्तकफैः) शोणितचतुर्थैः सम्भवस्थिति प्रलयेष्वप्यविरहितं शरीरं

Ibid., XXI, 3.

“These three humours in combination with a fourth, the principle of blood, determine the origin, preservation and dissolution of animated organism and permeate it with their respective properties till the moment of death.”

In these places though the *Suśrūta* has not directly meant them as the four root causes of diseases, it clearly mentions them as the *Dhātus* or the basic objects. Relying on these sayings of the *Suśrūta*, *Āśādadharmā*, *Svāmīdāsa* and other

old preceptors of Āyurveda regarded blood as the fourth elementary cause of disease; but such a view seems to be erroneous.

The question now arises, why does the Suśrūta mention 'blood' so many times with other three humours. The answer is very simple. The Suśrūta is mainly a medical treatise on surgery (*salyacikitsā*) and blood plays a very important part in surgery. Many diseases can be cured simply by letting out blood. This is why he has mentioned blood or śonita along with vāyu, pittam and kapham. This is the opinion of Dallanācārya commenting on शरीरस्त्वन्नपानमूला वातपित्तकशोणितसम्पात-वैषम्यनिमित्ताः (*ibid.*, I, 24).

The Suśrūta mentions clearly the usefulness of blood-letting in Sūtrasthāna, 14th Ch., v. 34-35 :

लाघवं वेदनाशान्तिव्याधेवेंगपरिक्षयः ।
सम्यग्विग्राविहतलिङ्गं प्रसादो मनसस्तथाः ॥
त्वग्दोषाग्रन्थयः शोधा रोगाः शोणितजश्च ये ।
रक्तमोक्षणाशीलानां न भवन्ति कदाचन ॥

"An act of complete and successful blood-letting is followed by a feeling of lightness and alleviation of pain in the affected part, by an abatement of the disease, and a general sense of cheerfulness. A person, accustomed to blood-letting, enjoys a kind of immunity from all types of skin diseases sarcomata, ancurism, oedema and diseases brought about by a vitiated condition of blood such as ovarian tumour, carbuncle, erysipelas, etc."

That the Suśrūta was also an exponent of the theory of three principles can be well illustrated from :

सर्वेषां च व्याधिनो वातपित्तरलेघमाण एव मूलम् । तस्मिन्नत्वाद् दृष्टफलत्वादा-गमाच्च—*ibid.*, XXIV, v. 8.

"The deranged bodily humours such as vāyu, pittam and kapham should be looked upon as the primary sources of all diseases, inasmuch as symptoms characteristic of each of them may be detected in the case of a disease of whatsoever type,

(which usually abates with their corresponding subsidence), and also because the Sāstras have ascribed to them the fatherhood of all maladies that assail the human frame."

That blood itself cannot be aggravated like vāyu, pittam and kapham, had very clearly been explained in the Suśrūta:

यस्माद्रक्तं विना दोषैर्न कदाचित् प्रकृप्यति ।

तस्माद्रक्तं यथादेषं कालं विद्यात् प्रकोपने ।

ibid., XXI, 26.

As blood can never be aggravated without (the aggravation of) humours so the time of its aggravation should be known according to that of humours. Thus it is quite evident that the Suśrūta spoke of blood along with other three humours only in order to emphasise the use of blood in surgery to his students.

But this theory of four humours as regarded by Āśāda-dharma, Svāmidāsa and other preceptors and based on the Suśrūta was once very common in India. Yi-tsing, while speaking of Indian medicine also advocates the same theory. (Takakusu, *I-tsing*, p. 130).

But there is a fundamental difference between these four humours as prevalent in India and as mentioned in this translated medical treatise, unless we assume that "Earth" stands for śoṇita, "Water" for kapham (phlegma), "Wind" for vāyu and fire for pittam (bile). It is the Unāni system which agrees clearly with the present text. This system believes in the theory of four humours and mention them as earth, water, wind and fire. Though the ancient Greek system had been regarded as the basis of the Unāni, still as regards these four humours there is a fundamental difference. According to Hippocrates, the four humours are nothing but anima (blood), phlegma (phlegma), cholen xanthen (yellow-bile: Skt. *pittam*) and cholen melanam (black-bile) as a substitute for Skt. *vāyu*).

Under these circumstances it is possible to believe that a theory of four humours, viz. Earth, Water, Fire, Wind, was

known in India, probably in the north-west, during the first and second centuries A.D. It might have come from a foreign source, from which probably the Suśrūta borrowed the theory of four humours, but modified it under the influence of tradition. The Unāni also borrowed from the same source in later times. We have seen that of the two translators of this text one was an Indian and the other an Indo-Scythian. So the possibility of the text being a Central Aisatic compilation cannot be wholly excluded.

I

Buddha-Bhaiṣajya-Rāja Sūtra

In the human body originally there were four diseases (causes of diseases): first, Earth; second, Water; third, Fire; fourth, Wind. When wind is increased, the respiration increases¹. When fire is increased heat rises up. When water is increased, mucus rises up. When earth² is increased strength is abundant. Originally from these four diseases, four-hundred and four diseases came into existence. Earth belongs to body, water belongs to mouth, fire belongs to eyes, wind belongs to ear. When fire is less and mucus is much, eyesight is not clear. Spring includes

1 पित्त-वृद्धौ.....संतापः श्लेष्म-वृद्धौ.....शैत्यम् । रक्तं (अति-वृद्धं) रक्ता-
द्वाक्षान्तिं सिरापूर्णत्वं च (आपादयति)—Suśrūta, Sūtrasthānam, 15th Ch.
17-18.

“Increase of Pittam is characterised by a.....general burning sensation in the body,.....An excess of kapham in the body is marked bycoldness.....A plethora of blood in the system gives a reddish glow to the complexion and the white of the eyes, and imparts fullness to the veins.”

But elsewhere Suśrūta says that blood is the vitality.

देहस्य रुधिरं मूलं रुधिरेणैव धार्यते ।

तस्माद्यत्नेन संरक्षयं रक्तं जीववृत्ति-स्थितः ॥

Sūtrasthānam 14th Chapter, 45.

“Blood is the origin of the body. It is blood that maintains vitality. Blood is life. Hence it should be preserved with greatest care.”

2 It has previously been mentioned that the term “Earth” in this text has to be taken instead of “blood” according to Indian medical theory. Suśrūta says,

“देहस्य रुधिरं मूलम्”—Sūtrasthānam, 14th Chapter, 45.

3 Suśrūta mentions five places of Kapham.

“श्लेष्मण्टु उरः शिरः करठो जिह्वामूलं सन्धय इति पूर्वोक्तं च ।”

Sūtrasthānam, 21st chapter, 7.

“Kapham is located in the region of the breast, the head, throat the joints and the stomach.”

Here जिह्वामूलं करठो may be regarded as (口)K'ou in Chinese translation.

first, second and third months. Mucus is too much during this period. Summer includes fourth, fifth and sixth months; wind is too much at that time. Autumn is seventh, eighth and ninth months; heat is much at that time; tenth, eleventh and twelfth months are winter; there are then wind and mucus. Why is phlegma (mucus) too much in spring? Because thousands of plants are born then and phlegma or cold comes out, so cold is too much. Why is wind much in summer? Because thousands of plants are blossomed. Male and female attributes are united together; so wind is much. Why is heat much in autumn? Because thousands of plants are ripe, so heat is much. Why winter has wind and cold? As all plants are dead, so heat is extinguished. There remain only wind and cold. During third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh months one can sleep well. This is because

Just like Kapham, Pittam also has five locations.

पित्तस्य यकृत् श्लोहानौ हृदयं दृष्टिस्वक पूर्वोक्तं च ॥

Suśrūta. Sūtrasthānam 21st. chapter 7th verse

"Those (locations) of Pittam are the liver, and the spleen, the heart, the pupils of the eyes, skin and the intestine (Pakvāśaya.)"

Similarly Nerve force (Vāyu) has also five locations. Caraka in Cikitsitasthānam, 28th chapter says:

स्थानं प्राणस्य शीर्षोरः कर्णं जिह्वास्यनासिकाः ।

"Prāṇa Vāyu has got head, heart, ear, tongue, mouth, and nose as its locations."

In Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya also we get that Vāyu has got पकाशय-कची-सकृथि-श्रोत्रास्थिस्पर्शनेन्द्रियान् (Sūtrasthānam, 12th chapter, 2nd verse.) as its locations.

As regards the locations of five kinds of Vāyu, Suśrūta does not mention anything very clearly but Dallanācārya, the famous commentator on the Suśrūta says in explaining, ऊर्ध्वजलुगतान् रोगान् (Suśrūta, Nidānasthānam, 1st chapter—15th verse.) ऊर्ध्वजलुगतानिति-नयनवदनप्राणश्रवणशिरः संश्रयान् ॥ Unless this Udāna Vāyu has got "Ear" (श्रवण) as its location, it cannot cause diseases there.

वक्षुस्तेजोमयम्, तस्य विशेषात् श्लेषणो भयम् ।

—Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayam, Sūtrasthānam, 2nd chapter. 5.—"The eyes are changed form of heat; so they have special fear from Kapham."

wind is much, so the body is light. During 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th, 1st and 2nd months one cannot sleep well because phlegma is much and the body is contracted. During the three months of spring there is cold (phlegma), (so) one should not eat wheat and beans; one should eat millet (*keng-mi*), ghee (*t'i-hu*) and such other hot things. During the three months of summer one should not eat arum (芋), bean and wheat; should eat millet and curd (乳酪). During the three months of autumn there is heat; one should not eat millet, ghee; but should eat fine rice (細米), fried grains, honey, rice *shu* (a kind of millet). There are (both) wind and cold during the three months of winter.⁴ The Yang and Yin close down; so

4 According to the Ayurveda there are six seasons in the year. But in the present text there is mention only of four seasons. Probably it reflects the climatic condition of some northern zone, which also agrees with that of China. The rainy season so well known in India has been excluded from the list. Hemanta i.e. the season which may be regarded as the early part of winter has also been dropped from this table of seasons. Practically speaking we have got only five seasons in India. So Suśrūta says,

वर्षशरद्देहमन्तवसन्तप्रीष्मप्रावृष्टः । Sūtrasthānam, 6th Chapter, 10.

Here शीत or शिशिर has not been mentioned; though वर्ष and प्रावृष्ट have been regarded as two separate seasons yet from the description of these seasons as narrated by Suśrūta, clearly appear to be more or less same season. शीत and हेमन्त also have been regarded by Suśrūta and other medical teachers as almost the same season. It is evident that we have only five seasons—Rainy season, Autumn, Winter and Spring. In the northern zone, there is no separate rainy season. It rains during winter. The winter is both a winter and the rainy season. Suśrūta also says :

शिशिरे वातमधिकं वातवृष्याकुला दिशः ॥

Sūtrasthānam, 6th chapter, verse 15.

"In winter there is a greater intensity of cold and the quarters of the sky are agitated by strong gales of wind and showers of rain."⁵ But he does not totally exclude the rainy season like the Chinese.

one should not eat millet, sauce of foreign beans, ghee⁵. While sleeping, sometimes wind rises up, sometimes it is extinguished; sometimes fire rises up, sometimes it is extinguished, sometimes cold rises up and sometimes it is extinguished.

5 In the Suśrūta, we see:

तत् वर्षाषु...प्राणीनां...पित्तसंचयमापादयन्ति ; स संचयः शरदि...पेत्तिकान् व्याधीन् जनयति । ता एवौषधयः.....हेमन्ते.....रुलेष्मसंचयमापादयन्ति, स संचयो वसन्ते.....देहीनां रुलेष्मीकान् व्याधीन् जनयति । ता एवौषधयो निदाष्टे.....वायोः संचयमापादयन्ति । स संचयः प्रावृष्टि चात्यर्थं प्राणीनां...वातिकान् व्याधीन् जनयति । एवमेष दोषाणां संचयप्रकोपहेतुरुक्तः ।

Sūtrasthānam, 6th chapter, 12.

“Osadhis (medical plants and cereals) sprout during the rains.....taken as drink during the season proves acid in its digestive reaction, and germinates excessive bile in the human system. In autumn.....the bile originated and accumulated during the rains.....gives rise to bilious diseases.....Plants and vegetables (Osadhis).give rise to an accumulation of phlegm in the body.....In spring the phlegm thus accumulated in the body ushers in the diseases due to a deranged state of that bodily humour. The said plants and vegetables.....partaken of in summer, give rise to an accumulation of wind in the system.....wind thus accumulated in the summer is agitated by the the rains and cold winds in the forepart of the rainy season (Prāvṛt).....gives rise to diseases which are incidental to a deranged state of bodily wind.”

The Suśrūta does not say anything about winter here. The season has been mentioned beforehand and also has been clearly explained by Dallanācārya in his commentary on this special division of seasons. When we find here in this text that in winter, wind and mucus increase we also find in Suśrūta that in Prāvṛt diseases, which are incidental to a deranged state of bodily winds, attack men. Hemanta and winter have been treated almost similarly by Suśrūta (Sūtrasthānam, 6th chapter 25; Uttaratantra: 64th chapter, 30). In Hemanta, accumulation of phlegma takes place (Suśrūta: Sūtrasthānam, 6th chapter 12; Uttaratantra, 64th chapter, 30). That both Vāyu and Ślesman come to a deranged state in Hemanta and consequently in winter and Vāyu and Ślesman are agitated, has indirectly been told by Suśrūta in Uttaratantra, 64th chapter, 20-30. This indirect opinion has taken a direct form in the commentary of Dallanācārya. Anyhow there is no doubt that in both rainy season and winter, Vāyu and Ślesman are agitated. Here are the causes of the theory mentioned in the present text that

There are ten causes for a man's having diseases:—(1) sitting for a long time without eating anything, (2) eating without limit (i.e., over-eating), (3) sorrow, (4) fatigue, (5) sexual intercourse in excess, (6) anger, (7) checking motion of stools, (8) checking motion of urine, (9) checking motion of upward wind, (10) checking the *motion* of downward wind. From these ten causes, diseases originate. Buddha said: There are nine causes by which life comes to an untimely end:—(1) eating what should not be eaten, (2) eating beyond measure, (3) taking food against habit, (4) taking things before digested, (5) checking what is natural, (6) not observing *sīla*, (7) coming in contact with evil friends, (8) enter a place untimely and to behave improperly, (9) not avoiding (those things) which should be avoided. These are the nine causes by which a man's life is untimely ended. 'Eating what should not be eaten' means eating things which are not suitable to the four seasons. It also means to eat although one has eaten a little earlier. These are meant by 'eating what should not be eaten'. 'Eating beyond measure' means to eat more, surpassing the capacity to eat, having no knowledge of propriety. This is 'eating beyond measure'. 'Taking food against habit' means to eat untimely. If one goes to some other place and without knowing latter's custom takes a large quantity (of their) food to which he is not accustomed, this is 'taking food against habit.' "Taking

both wind and mucus increase in winter which corresponds to rains and winter of India.

As regards the foods and vegetables which are advised to be taken and rejected during different seasons are no doubt of Indian origin. But as different climates create different qualities in foods, so they cannot exactly represent the things which are prevalent in India though the names are true translations of Indian terms.

The ten causes of man's having diseases, nine causes of untimely death, five sins of eating much and such other things as mentioned in the present text, correspond with opinions of Suśrūta as expressed in the 20th and 46th chapters of Sūtrasthānam. Corresponding ideas of other things may also be found in other Chapters of the Suśrūta where the author speaks occasionally on good and evil habits or causes of diseases and corresponding similar subjects.

things before digested' means to take food when foods already taken are not digested. As for example, after taking medicine one vomits out, and the action of the medicine is not complete. He then takes food. This is 'taking food before digested' (?). 'To check what is natural' means when motion for purging or urine comes and one does not release it immediately; or when motion for vomiting or to pass wind comes and one checks it. This is to check the nature. 'Not observing Sila' means to violate the five Silas. In the present life, if one steals or violates other's women, he is taken to district officers. He may either be executed immediately or may be put to death afterwards or may get thrashing by logs of wood and thus put to death, or may be put to death being kept without food. If he somehow escapes and goes outside the country, there he may meet death in enemy hand or may die out of fear and sorrow. This is not observing Sila. 'Coming in contact with bad men' means that when the other person with whom you come in contact is doing evil things, and then you go to him. Why is it so? As you have not abandoned the companionship of evil friends, (and as) bad men are generally not counted, so you are to suffer. This is 'coming in contact with evil friends'. 'Entering a place untimely and to behave improperly' means to go out by morning and by evening. There may be devils, persons who quarrel and fight; may be that officers who follow those persons will catch him and he cannot avoid. As for example, if a person enters other person's house and does a wrong by looking towards what should not be looked at, does a wrong by offending those who should not be offended, does a wrong by thinking what should not be thought of. All these are 'entering a place untimely and to behave improperly.' 'Not avoiding what should be avoided' means (not to avoid) sick ox and horses, mad dog, snakes, worms, water, fire, gorge, great pits, running chariot, galloping horse, a man who has a naked knife (in his hand), evil men and such other things. This is 'not avoiding what should be avoided'. Such are the nine causes (by which) a man's life untimely comes to an end. Clever men should note that these should be avoided. When

these are avoided, one gets two kinds of merits. First, he gets long life, and is able to hear the good words of the dharma and also may practise dharma for a long time.

Buddha said that there are four (ways) of taking food:— (1) eating like a son (of the Sākya?), (2) eating food being cut by 300 spears, (3) eating food like worms which are born of skin and which come out of it, (4) eating food of misfortune. 'Eating like a son.....' means when a man takes meat, being attracted by its taste, he himself tries to recall the memories then: 'All these meats are my parents, brothers, wives and relations in (all) my previous births. Moreover, for this (act of eating meat, I cannot escape birth and death.' As soon as he has this thought, (his) greed is immediately checked. This is to take food like a son (of the Sākya). 'Eating being cut by three hundred spears' means the desire to take food which follows the memories of taste repeatedly recalled. This misfortune is innumerable. If one does not recall the memory of taste he can escape (but otherwise) he is cut by the spears and loves (his) body. Thousands of men get sufferings when this memory is again and again produced (in their mind). This is 'eating being cut by three hundred spears'. 'Eating like worms which are born of skin and which come out of it' means man remembers the taste and thousands of other things and becomes anxious about family affairs. These thoughts make holes (in that) man's mind. Thoughts of thousands of things come out and go in. This is 'eating like worms which are born of skin and which come out of it'. 'Eating food of misfortune' means birth, death and life (in this world). All these are food of sufferings. 'As fire burns thousands of things so the result of a man's action troubles him. Like great fire it burns everything, so it is (full) of misery. Why is it called food? It means thoughts produced by the man, so it is called food. A man eats meat, just as if he is eating his own son. All animals are his parents, brothers, wives and sons and innumerable similar relations. There are six occasions for not eating meat. Firstly he should not kill the animal himself, secondly he should not cause it to be killed (by others), thirdly he should not have sympathy for the slayer, fourthly

he should not witness the slaying of the animal, fifthly he should not hear about the killing, and sixthly, he should know if it has been killed for himself. He can take meat (or animals) killed by methods other than these six. For not taking meat these are six conditions. The man who can live without meat gets merit without having any shock or fear.

Buddha said that there are five sins for eating much. Firstly, sleep is increased, secondly disease attacks frequently, thirdly lust is increased, fourthly he cannot recite sūtras, fifthly he becomes attached too much to the world. What is the reason? A lustful man knows the taste of form (rūpa), an angry man knows the taste of danger; a fool knows the taste of eating. The Vinaya and the Sūtra say that a man who is greedy of taste gets birth according to his (proper) taste. He does not obtain the taste of virtue. Buddha said if one wants to get rid of birth and death, he should take one meal. Otherwise if anyone follows (the path of) greediness, he will not be able to practise the law which gives heavenly sig'it to know his (own) self, whence he has come and taken birth and where he will go. Those who do not think of death and eat abundantly and think always about woman, all of them will die untimely after committing 140 sins. All these are caused by eating. If one commits sins, then he will lose his human form in the next birth and will be born among the beasts. When one is able to become a man, he gets hunger, thirst and blood. Anger is produced side by side with lust and greed.

Buddha said, "There is great merit in one's starving himself and giving away his food to others, in order that they may live. This is a great merit. In the next birth he gets abundance of food and drink and is free from anger. Moreover, without gift, gift cannot be obtained. A man only allows himself to be greedy and lustful. (A life) without gift only helps a man to be wanton. I do not possess even a coin, moreover I should not take it. If one has greediness, he himself suffers for nothing and commits sins. A virtuous man has no anxiety from sufferings. Anxiety arises out of anger; sorrow arises out of greediness. We die in a fixed year, in a fixed month, on a fixed day,

at a fixed moment. Those who do not know this, who are not afraid, who do not act according to virtue, who do not observe laws of morality, who are unrestrained, anxious for copper, anxious for iron, anxious for fields, house, servants, maid-servants and do not know that these only increase sufferings of mankind, they all obtain birth among different kinds of beasts."

Buddha said that a man lives just like bees who collect and prepare honey for many days with great labour. Men attack them and take away everything. For nothing he troubles his own self; he has no chance of giving it. Man seeks for these thoughts, these anxieties and gets worried. Without (caring for) hunger, and thirst he diligently collects wealth. Before death he is worried about it, being deprived (of his wealth) by five kinds of family partitions, or flood, fire, robber, imperial officers and diseases, all contrary to what he thought of. Whereas just after his death, other persons get that wealth and he himself suffers unspeakable punishments for sins (committed) for it. The five kinds of divisions are firstly, fire, secondly flood, thirdly robber, fourthly magistrate and fifthly poor relatives. Why then will he be not anxious for what he has? If a man does not think of these five kinds of divisions beforehand, he cannot escape from extreme sufferings. These sufferings bind the body by thousands of ties in the stomach and take far away from the path of virtue. The law of man is like trade. If he makes profit, he should not be delighted upon this and if he cannot make profit, he should also not be sorry. All these are results of deeds done during the previous birth. If a man is possessed of greediness, then due to that greediness he does not get profit. Even if he gets world full of wealth still he himself cannot utilise it fully. Moreover he does not follow the men who have gone beforehand, but only increases human ties. It has only sufferings and pains and only sows the seed of next birth. Causes are like fire which burns everything; but we do not know this. If we do not take courage to remove them at every step, then we should know that it will increase our sufferings and causes of sins.

II.

Avalokiteśvara-kṛta-Cikitsā-Bhaiṣajya Sūtra

At that time Buddha said to Ānanda: "This elaborate, great, perfect, having no obstacle, highly merciful Dhāraṇī spoken by Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva is true and not empty. If there are men who desire and want to ask Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva Mahāsattva (for something), (let him) take the incense *Chu-kiu-lo'* (Sans.-Guggulu); chant the dhāraṇī twice seven times (and) burn (it). Then the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is sure to come immediately.

"If a man is attacked by evil spirits, take *Mi-li-cha-na*², burn it to ashes, mix (it) with clean clay and make an image of the evil spirit. In front of the image of Avalokiteśvara take a knife of steel, chant (the dhāraṇī) 108 times and cut piece by piece (that image of the spirit) into 108 pieces. Then as soon as you utter his name, he is cured. He is cured for ever, never can (any evil spirit) touch him again.

"If a man is attacked by poison of a venomous insect, take the incense *kie-pu-lo*³ (*karpūra*), mix it with the incense (*chu-*

1 *Chu-kiu-lo*,—Sanskrit-*guggulu*. A Chinese note says that it is the same as *Ngan si-hiang* (安悉); *Ngan-si*, generally written as 安息 is the ancient Chinese name of Persia. It was therefore known as an Iranian product in China. In the Chinese Sanskrit Dictionary, the *Fan yi ming yi tsi* it is used for Sanskrit *guggulu* "bdellion"—Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 467; Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 1912, p. 480.

2 *Mi-li-cha-na*. A Chinese note says that it means the bone of the head of a cat but the transcription is uncertain. It seems to represent something like *Villiṭana*? *Villi* is a dialectal Indo-Aryan name of cat.

3 *Kie-pu-lo*,—Sanskrit *Karpūra*. It is explained in a Chinese note as (龍腦)—"dragon's brain incense." For *Kie-pu-lo*, see *Sino-Iranica*, p. 591.

kiu-lo (guggulu) each of equal quantity. One bushel of well water taken out at late night⁴ should be completely mixed with it. Boil it, till it is reduced to half bushel, then take it and drink its extract. Chant the dhāraṇī 10 times in front of the image of Avalokiteśvara. As soon as chanted, one is cured.

"If a man is bitten by deadly poisonous serpent or scorpion, take dry ginger, powder (it) into large and small (bits), chant the dhāraṇī seven times (and) apply it on the bitten place. Immediately he is cured.

"If a man suffers from evil mantras uttered by evil enemies (on his) image, take pure clay or flour or wax, and make an image of that evil person. In front of the image of Avalokiteśvara, take a knife of steel, chant the dhāraṇī 108 times. At each chanting cut a piece from it uttering the name of the enemy; then burn completely (those) 108 pieces. That man then becomes happily disposed, cultivates his own self, behaves properly, loves and respects. He is then without any hatred.

"If a man suffers from damaged eyes, whether it is a case of complete blindness or of a white screen, covering the red and there is no sight (at all) let him take *ho-li-lei* (haritaki), *yang-mo-lei* (āmalakī) and *pi-hi-lei* (vibhītaka),⁵ one each, break them (and) extract the oil. You must strictly protect it while powdering. Do not allow a woman who has recently given birth to a child, to look at it. Reciting (the name of) Buddha in a suppressed voice, mix it with white honey or human milk and apply it inside the unclosed eye. If it is human milk it should be of a mother having a male child. If it is the milk of a mother having a girl, then at the time of mixing the medicine with it, you should chant 108 times in front of the image of Avalokiteśvara. Keep it inside the eye completely for seven days. (The patient) should remain inside a room being carefully protected from wind and abstain-

4 The Chinese texts gives (井花水) *tsing hua-shui*.

5 The Chinese transcriptions of the names are old; *ho-li-lei* "arirak, *yang-mo-lei* āmalak, and *pi-hi-lei*-vibhītak.

ing from sexual intercourse, five kinds of hot spices and impure things. Then he will get back his eye-sight bright, clean, full of light and strong.

"If a man suffers from a terrible ghostly disease (fever), let him take the skin of tiger, leopard, jackal and wolf, chant the dhāraṇī 21 times, and cover the body with those hides. He will then be cured. Lion's skin is the best.

"If a man is bitten by snake, take the dust⁶ from the ear of the bitten man, chant the dhāraṇī 21 times, cover the bitten place with it. He is at once cured.

"If a man suffers from bad troubles of heart, and is (so much) depressed as to wish for death, then let him take one ball of peach-tree gum of the seed of a peach fruit, let him take one sheng (=one-tenth of a tou-i.e. bushel) of clean water, mix with it and boil. Let him take it (when reduced to) half sheng. Chant the dhāraṇī seven times and swallow it up suddenly. He is at once cured. Do not allow women to boil the medicine. It should be prepared in a very pure way. Medicines prepared by women are of no effect.

"If a man suffers from apoplexy (?) under the influence of the ghosts transmitted from dead bodies of murdered men, let him take *chu-kuu-lo* incense (guggulu), chant the dhāraṇī 21 times, burn it and inhale (the smoke) through the nostrils; and again let him take seven pills as big as rabbits' toe, chant the dhāraṇī 14 times and swallow. Then he is cured. He should abstain from wine, meat, fine hot things, abusing (others) and quarrelling (with others). He should again take the realgar (manahśilā)⁷, mix it with pure⁸ mustard seed and

6 Chinese—*ning*, cerumen of the ears. A Chinese note says that it means ear stools gathered from inside the ears.

7 Chinese—*mo-na-si-lo*. Skt. manahśilā. A Chinese note says that it is *hiung-huang* (雄黃); this is given as a translation of Manahśilā in Mahāvyutpatti, see Rosenberg, sub. verb.

8 The Chinese word given is (白) "white", but a note says that it should not be taken in the sense of white but of "pure."

rock salt,⁹ chant the dhāraṇī 21 times and burn it under the bed of the patient. This will make the body of the ghost causing disease burst out at once. The ghost runs away and dares not remain.

"If a man suffers from paralysis and his ears and nose do not function, hands and feet do not move, let him take sesamum oil¹⁰ boiled with costus root¹¹ (kustha), chant the dhāraṇī 21 times and rub it on the body for a long time. He is then cured. Again let him take pure ghee of cow's milk, chant the dhāraṇī 21 times and rub it on the body. He is then cured.

"If a woman suffers from pain of delivery, take sesamum oil, chant the dhāraṇī 21 times, rub it on the navel and inside the female organ. If she swallows it by the mouth, the delivery becomes easy. If the child is dead in the womb of a pregnant woman, take *a-po-mo-la* grass, one big pair, mix it up with two bushels of water, boil it and then strain it. Take one bushel of the decoction; chant the dhāraṇī 21 times and drink it immediately. Then the child will come out without any difficulty. If the foetus does not come out then also drink this medicine; it will come out immediately and the life saved.

"If somebody suffers suddenly from unbearable heart-pain, let him) take a nipple quantity of *tu-lu* incense (kunduru) taken from the insect of the dead body lying on the road (?), make a pill of it, chant the dhāraṇī 21 times and (let him) take it by the mouth, chew it and swallow it. If it is a little more or less, there is no harm. Let the poison be vomited, (then) cured. (Let him) abstain from five kinds of hot things, wine, meat, and unclean oily things.

9 The Chinese note says that it is an Indian (印) variety of Salt which is good. It is the rock salt of Sind which is known as Saindhava, best kind of salt according to the Ayurveda.

10 *Hu-mo*—sesamum.

11 *Ki-hiang* costus root, *kustha*.

12 *A-po-mo-la*, Skt. *apāmārga* grass. A Chinese note says that it is the (牛膝草) "oxe's knee grass"?

"If any one is burnt by fire, take *kiu-moyi* (gomaya),¹⁴ chant the dhāraṇī 21 times, apply it on that burnt place. It is then cured.

"If any man suffers from heart-ache caused by the biting of hook-worm, take half bushel of *ku-lo-mo-che*,¹⁵ chant the dhāraṇī 21 times, make him eat it; then he is cured. If it is serious then take one bushel. The string-like worm then comes out.

"If any one suffers from boils in private places, take leaves of water-chestnut, and draw out the juice by thrashing. Take the juice and chant the dhāraṇī 21 times. At night put (that juice) inside the eye and let him lie down; he is then cured. If it requires the juice of stools of white male horse (?), chant the dhāraṇī 21 times, act as directed above, then get cured.

"If anybody is suffering from pain in abdomen take well water fetched at late night, mix it with two little bits of rock salt, chant the dhāraṇī 21 times, take half *sheng* and then get cured.

"If any one suffers from redness in the eye or tumour in the eye and has covering (i.e., cataract), (let him) take *sho-mi*" (*sāmi*) leaves, bruise them and take the juice, chant (the dhāraṇī) seven times, keep a bronze coin (?) (in it) for one night, again chant it seven times. Apply it to the eye, then get cured.

"If somebody is suffering from fear at night and (can) not (get) peace (and also) is afraid of going out and coming in,

14 The Chinese note says that *kiu-mo-yi* is black ox's stool.

15 *Ku-lo-mo-che*. The Chinese note says that it is the stool of white horse.

16 There is a mistake here. Probably this sentence referred to some other disease but the text is mutilated. This is made clear by a Chinese note at the end of the paragraph which says that *Ku-lu-ta-kin* is the fresh stool of donkey but there is no reference to it in the text.

17 Chinese *he-mi*=*sāmi*; A Chinese note explains it as (苟杞) *Kiu-ki* leaf.

(take a few) white threads and make a thick thread (with them), chant (the dhāraṇī) 21 times, make 21 knots and put it round the neck; then fear is removed. Not only is that fear removed, but also he gets punya and sins are extinguished and his life prolonged.

“If calamity comes unexpectedly in one’s house, take the branches of pomegranate tree, cut it into 1008 pieces, put clarified butter, curd and honey at both the ends of the sticks. Chant (the dhāraṇī) and burn one by one all the 1008 sticks. All troubles due to the calamity are wholly removed. All these should be done in front of the image of Avalokiteśvara.

“If you take white *ch’ang-p’u*¹⁸ (?), chant (the dhāraṇī) 108 times, bind it on your right arm, then in all places where you are known you will get victory in debating.

“If you take *sho-mi* (śamī) branches with leaves, cut them into inches, put genuine ghee, white honey and curd at both the ends, chant (the dhāraṇī) and burn one by one all the 1008 pieces, thrice a day, each time 100, for seven days, you will realise your own self through wisdom.

“If among men who practise religion, there is one who wants to conquer ghosts and spirits of great power, take *a-li-sho-kia*¹⁹ plant, chant (the dhāraṇī) 21 times, burn it in fire; clarified butter, curd and honey are also necessary. All these should be done in front of the image of Mahākaruṇā (Avalokiteśvara).

“If (you) take a large quantity of *hu-lu-che-na*²⁰ (gorocanā), keep it in a crystal glass, place it in front of the image of Mahākaruṇā, chant 1008 times, apply it on the body and fore-

18 (昌蒲) *ch’ang-p’u*?

19 *A-li-sho-kia* Skt. arīṣṭaka, The Chinese note says that it is the the seed of (木槐) *mu-huan*—arīṣṭaka is roseberry plant, Vaidyaka Nighaṇṭu—arīṣṭah.....grahapiḍā—śūlanāśanataca *prakīrtitā*.

20 *Ch.* *Hu-lu-clu-nā*=gorocanā; A Chinese note says that it is cow’s bile.

head, (then) all gods, serpents, spirits, men and kinnara will be pleased.

“If some one is under (iron) chains in anklets, (and) on the neck (and if it be) locked, take stools of white pigeon, chant 108 times, apply it with the hand on the iron chains and locks in anklets and neck, at once he will be released.

“If a couple is not harmonious just like fire and water, let them take the tail of drake or mandarin duck (*cakravāka*), chant 1008 times in front of the image of *Mahākaruṇāhṛdaya* (i.e., *Avalokiteśvara*), put it on the body and carry it, then throughout whole life they will remain happy, will love and respect each other.

“If there be anybody whose crops and five kinds of fruits in the field are eaten up by worms, let him take pure ashes, chant well 1008 times, spread (the ashes) on the four sides of the field, then insects will be destroyed and driven away. If there be fruit trees, take water, chant 108 to 1008 times more, sprinkle it on the tree, the insects then will dare not eat and do any harm to the fruits.

“If there is any one who is haunted by ghosts (and in consequence) his mouth becomes shut (i.e., cannot speak) (and) spits much, cannot recognise who is who and is on the point of a sudden death, take fine powders of *asmagarbhā* jade²¹, chant 108 times and let him drink it with wine; again take *ku-lu-wang-yi*²² extract its juice, chant 14 times and let him drink it. Also you may establish the ghost on his forehead (i.e., draw a picture or image of ghost on his forehead), chant 118 times, then he is cured.

“If somebody is burnt by boiled water, take ashes of wood, mix it with water, chant 21 times, apply it on the burnt place thrice daily. (You may also) take hot cowdung, chant 21 times, apply on the burnt place and it will be cured.

“If anyone eats poisonous beasts (i.e., eats flesh of animals

21 (虎魄玉) *asmagarbhā* jade.

22 *Ku-lu-wang-yi* is explained in the Chinese note as “white horse's stool”.

bitten by snake or other poisonous beasts) and gets such troubled mind as wishing to die, take one *sheng* of clean clay, mix it with three *shengs* of water, boil it so as to make it one bushel, chant 21 times and let him drink it. He is then cured. If any one suddenly gets painful boils, take the turnip leaves, thrash them, mix them with wine, chant 21 times and apply it on the boil. He then gets cured.

“If there be anybody suffering from bad type of swelling in the abdomen and is about to die, take cowdung (*kiu-mo-yi*), burn it and mix it with wine, chant 21 times, apply on the swollen place, also let him take it by mouth. He is then cured.

“If someone is suffering from haemorrhage of the nose and is about to die, take grass²³ (?) leaves, mix them with water, boil it and take the juice, chant 21 times, let him swallow it; no matter whether the patient is young or old; then he is cured and lives.

“If a man vomits blood and also purges blood, take the gum of peach-tree as big as hen's egg, chant 21 times, let him swallow it and then he is cured.

“If any one suffers from cough, take one *sheng* of decoction of peachnut seeds²⁴ boiled on fire, mix it with sugarcandy, chant 108 times, then all on a sudden let him swallow it up. When he takes 3 or 4 doses, the disease is cured.

“If anyone suffers from scratching sensation in the hole of anus take the decoction of *tsao-ts'au-lo-ko*²⁵ mix it with finely powdered sugarcandy, chant 108 times, apply it on the anus 3 times a day, then he is cured.

“If any one suffers from constipation, take 2 *shengs* of seeds of sunflower²⁶, with 4 shengs of water, boil it and take one sheng of juice. Chant 21 times, take it several times and then bowels go down.

23 生蓬菜—*Cynodon dactylon*—Skt. *dūrvā*,

24 *Yi-t'ang* peach nut seeds?

25 Chinese *tsao-ts'au-lo-ko*; a Chinese note says that it is the seed of *t'u-sseu-'cuscute'*.

26 瓜子 sunflower seed—

"If someone suffers from retention of urine (mutrakrcchra), take cowdung (*kiu-mo-yi*)²⁷, extract the juice, chant 21 times, let him drink. He is then cured.

"If some one suffers from retention of urine, take soot attached to the Beams of the house, strain it through a shieve with three fingers only, mix it with clean water, chant 21 times and let him drink. He is then cured.

"If anyone suffers from the disease of urine which flows many times and the force of which comes suddenly, if he passes one bushel of urine, (let him) take one pair of *ko-lu* (?) roots, boil it in three *shengs* of clean water, extract the juice, when it is reduced to half, chant 21 times or 108 times, let him take it all at once and he is then cured.

"If any pregnant woman suddenly gets disease, boil five *shengs* of small beans, three *shengs* of *she* (?) in one bushel of clean water, take the juice (when reduced to) three *shengs*, chant 108 times, divide it into two doses and (let him take it); then the disease is cured and delivery is peaceful and happy.

"If a woman suffers from the disorder of child in the womb (and so) delivery is difficult and (she is) about to die, take one *sheng* of grass (?), three *shengs* of water, boil it and take the juice (when reduced to) one *sheng*. Chant 21 times and let her drink, then baby is born without any danger.

"If a baby cries at night and cannot sleep, write the name of the ghost below his eyes. Chant 21 times, spit three times and then the crying stops.

"If there are boils on the head of the baby, take *kiu-mo-ma* (?), gills of the horn (?), burn them to ashes, mix it with pig's stomach (fat?), chant 21 times and rub it on the boils which are then cured.

"If any child suffers from swollen tongue and cannot drink mother's milk, take juice of *tung fang ch'eng* (?), chant 108 times, rub it on the tongue which is immediately cured.

27 *Kiu-mo-yi*—Gomaya is explained in the Chinese note as the "stool of young calf".

"If there be boils in the mouth of any child and he cannot eat, take fine strained powder of *huang-lien*²⁸ soot, mix it with the milk of male child's mother. Chant 21 times, apply it on the boils in the mouth. He is then cured."

Then at that time the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara hold the great assembly,—After this Parinirvāna of Tathāgata all the people of the final world will tell lies. So numberless diseases will occur. Therefore I now speak of (numberless) methods of curing, so that a Bhikṣu or Bhikṣuī, Upāsaka or Upāsikā, Kulaputra or Kuladuhitā may accept and use these curing methods, according to the suffering of the people. They (should) know that this is my body of transformation (Nirmāṇakāya). In order to save the living beings with the help of a highly merciful heart, I am sure to come to this place to formulate the methods so that they may have superior effects. Men who accept the miraculous verses of this *Mahākaruṇāhṛdayacittānusārīrājadhāraṇī* can save the world from sufferings. Such a man is like me and not different from my own self.

If there be men and women with pure belief, then they may accept and practise this Dhārani which saves (people) from sufferings. Those who practise other worldly methods for curing diseases should also be kind-hearted and with sincere heart must chant it 108 times, as there is nothing which cannot be reached with (the help of) Avalokiteśvara. If persons practise my method up to the end of their life, I will soon receive them with unlimited happiness, riding on a chariot of cloud, decorated with jewels. I will soon let him be born in the world of happiness, make him seat on a lotus and change the life to Buddhahood very soon."

At that time Sākyamuni praised Avalokiteśvara saying, "Well said, well said, O Great One. It is just so as you have said. If there be good men and good women who have given (even) a dose of medicine to the diseased persons, they acquire merit in the present life and (their) sins are extinguished.

28 *Huang lien*, *Toung Pao*, 1915, p. 103, when *Huang lien liang* is explained as rhizomes of *Coptis teeta*.

For the future, the result of that merit is limitless; life after life (they) attain diseaseless bodies, enjoy happiness, attain success in heaven and amongst men; get long life without any limit and attain the law within a short time."

At that time the great assembly of Bodhisattvas, Brahma, Indra, and all the Gods, Nāgas, Yakṣas, divine beings, ghosts, kings, men and Kinnaras heard all this spoken by Buddha and were highly pleased. (All of them) believed, accepted worshipped and practised (this method of curing diseases).

SATIRANJAN SEN.

Political Relations between Bengal and China in the Pathan period.

Sources of Information

Political relations between India and China practically come to a close with the end of the Buddhist period. There is no reference in the Chinese records to any exchange of ambassadors after the T'ang period. There is neither any mention of Indian missionaries going to China after the middle of the 11th century. There was however an attempt to resume political relations between the two countries in the Ming period but it succeeded only temporarily. The Chinese official records of this period reveal a complete ignorance of the former relations between the two countries. The records sometimes show that the Chinese writers had even forgotten the geography of India and considered parts of it as countries outside India.

There is a number of records on the exchange of embassies between Bengal and China during the first half of the 15th century. These records have a special interest in so far as they throw light from an unexpected quarter on the political, social and economic condition of Bengal in the 15th century. Two of these records had been formerly translated by Rockhill in *T'oung Pao*, 1915, pp. 436-444. There are however a few, more which are more complete and precise than the former in certain respects. They have now been, translated with the help of my friend and colleague in the Viśva-Bharati, Mr. Hsiang-ling Wu. I have thought it fit to publish these records here along with those previously translated by Rockhill which also have been partly revised. It would not have been possible to present these records without the kind collaboration of Mr. Wu. I therefore take this opportunity of expressing my gratefulness for the help he has rendered in this work.

The records of which the translations are being published are the following:

1. *Ying yai sheng lan* which was compiled by Ma Huan between 1425 and 1432 A.D. It is a general account of Bengal

without any reference to the king or the court. It was translated by Rockhill in *T'oung Pao*, 1915, pp. 436-440.

2. *Sing ch'a sheng lan*, compiled by Fei-sin in 1436 A.D. This is also a general account of Bengal with some information on the king and the court but the name of the king does not occur in it. It is an account of Hou-hien's visit to Bengal in 1415. It was also translated by Rockhill in *T'oung Pao*, 1915, pp. 440-444.

3. *Si yang ch'ao kung tien lu* compiled by Huang Sing-ts'eng in 1520 A.D. So far as the general account of Bengal goes it agrees with the second account. It contains in addition the name of the king and a reference to the various embassies sent by him to the Chinese court till 1438 A.D. A translation of this account was published in *JRAS.*, 1895, pp. 529-33 by G. Phillips, but ours is an independent translation. A preliminary note was published by Prof. Sujitkumar Mukhopādhyāya and Mr. Hsiao-ling Wu in *Modern Review*, 1945, March, pp. 121-122

4. *Shu yu chou tseu lu* compiled in 1574 by Yen Ts'ong-kien. This is the most complete of all accounts. It must have been based not only on the previous accounts but also on other sources not known to us at present. It has also a commentary from which some extracts have been translated by us. The edition used by us is the reprint of the only Ming edition published by the Palace Museum, Peiping, 1930.

5. *Ming-she*, the official compilation was completed in 1739 but the materials are old. Its chapter on *Wai kuo chuan* was compiled by You T'ung (1618-1704). You T'ung was a poet and wrote poems on the foreign countries which may now be found in his complete work *Si t'ang tsuan tsi*. There are two poems on Bengal but there is nothing new for us in them.

There are a few other records of the commercial intercourse between China and Bengal of the Yuan and Ming periods. Chao Ju-kua in his *Chu fan che* (translation by Hirth and Rockhill, p. 97) mentions the kingdom of *P'eng-kie-lo* as a country of the west. He says: "The city walls were 120 li circuit. The people of the country used white conch shells

ground into shape as money. The native products include fine swords, *tu-lo* cotton stuffs and common cotton cloth." Hirth and Rockhill had some hesitation in identifying the country with Bengal and suggested that probably 'the kingdom of Balhara' was meant (*ibid.*, p. 102). This was probably due to its being mentioned as a country in the west. But this must be understood in relation to China and not as Western India. The use of white conch shells (cowrie) as money, the mention of the native products—specially *tu-lo mien* and also common cotton stuff, also point out to Bengal. It will be evident from texts translated below that Bengal was specially noted for these things.

There is however a little difficulty about the identification of the capital of Bengal as mentioned by Chao Ju-kua. The capital of Bengal is mentioned by him as the city of *Ch'a-na-ki* 茶那啓. Hirth and Rockhill did not suggest any identification. But I believe that the complete form of the name was [Pen]-*ch'a-na-ki*-[lo] [奔]茶那啓[羅] which has been either wrongly copied by the copyist or abbreviated. This name stands for Pundanagara. The ancient transcriptions of the name have been discussed by Pelliot in *B.E.E.E.O.*, IV, p. 380. Pundanagara of the later period was not however Pundranagara or Pundravardhana of earlier period of which the ruins have been discovered at Mahāsthān in the district of Bogra, but Pandua further to the north.

The next work which mentions Bengal is a compilation of Yuan period. It is the *Tao yi che leo*—"A Description of the Barbarians of the Isles." It was compiled by Wang Ta-yuan most probably in the winter of 1349-50 A.D. (See Rockhill, *T'oung Pao*, p. 62). The *Tao yi che leo* is more reliable than the *Chu fan che*. The author of the latter, Chao Ju-kua, did not write from personal observations. He was the Customs Officer of Fu-kien and wrote from informations supplied by the foreign sailors and merchants. But Wang Ta-yuan visited many of the localities described by him for purposes of trade. Although it is not certain if he had come up to Bengal, his short descrip-

tion of the country is more precise than that of Chao Ju-kua. It has also been translated by Rockhill in *T'oung Pao* (*ibid.*, pp. 435-436). Wang Ta-yuan speaks of Bengal as a country of luxuriant fields which yield three crops a year, the people being highly industrious. He found the usages and customs of the people as pure and virtuous. His estimate of the people is noteworthy:

“These people owe all their tranquillity and prosperity to themselves, for its source lies in their devotion to agriculture whereby a land originally covered with jungle has been reclaimed by their unremitting toil in tilling and planting. The seasons of Heaven have scattered the Wealth of the Earth over this kingdom, the riches and integrity of its people surpass, perhaps, those of Ch'iu-chiang (Palembang) and equal those of Chao-wa (Java)’’.

About the Government and the economic products of Bengal the author says:

“The government tax is two-tenths. The government casts a silver coin called a *t'ang-ka* (*tangka*) which weigh eight candareens (or eight hundredths of an ounce Chinese). In their dealings they use cowrie shells, 10.520 odd being exchanged for a small coin (*i.e.*, *tangka*). It is an extremely convenient currency for the people. The native products comprise cotton stuffs (like our Chinese) *pi-pu*, *kao-ni-pu* and *tu-lo-kin* and also king-fisher's feathers. The goods used in trading are southern and northern silks, coloured taffetas, satins, cloves, nutmegs, blue and white, white China-ware, white (yak hair?) tassels, and the like”.

We will see later on that this account of Bengal is amply confirmed by a number of other records of the Ming period.

Political Missions to Bengal

The Chinese texts of which translations are given below refer to exchange of embassies between China and Bengal as well as to a Chinese mission to the state of Jaunpur during

the first half of 15th century. Bengal was then ruled by Pathan rulers independent of the Government at Delhi. The capital of Bengal was then Pandua in the district of Maldah.

A full account of the political missions is found in the *Si yang ch'ao kung tien lu* which was compiled in 1520 and the *Shu yu chou tseu lu* compiled in 1574. According to the first text the first mission was sent from Bengal by king Ngai-ya-sse-ting (Ghiyās-ud-din) in the 6th year yong-lo (1408 A.D.). It reached T'ai-ts'ang in Kiang-su with presents for the Emperor, the next year (1409). The next mission from Bengal reached China in the 12th year yong-lo (1414) and the third in the 3rd year cheng-t'ong (1438).

The second text gives some additional information on these missions. It says that the first mission from Bengal sent by Ghiyās-ud-din reached China in the 3rd year yong-lo (1405). The second mission went in 1408, the third in 1414 but it does not mention the last mission sent in 1438. The *Ming-she* throws some more light on these events.

The *Ming-she* says that since 1409 the Emperor Yong-lo initiated a policy of opening up relations with foreign countries. This probably occurred to the Emperor after the first two visits of the ambassadors of Bengal in 1405 and 1408. The *Ming-she* further says that since then ambassadors came from Bengal every year. It is not known whether they really came every year, but the text refers to a mission that was expected to arrive in 1412. It is said that in the 10th year yong-lo (1412) officials were sent to Chen-kiang for the reception of the ambassador of Bengal. The ambassador reached China with the news of the death of the king of Bengal. The name of the king however is not mentioned. Officials were then sent to Bengal to attend the coronation of the Prince Sai-wu-ting (赛勿丁). The *Ming-she* further adds that this new king sent a mission to China in the 12th year yong-lo (1414). It was probably on this account that in the 13th year yong-lo (1415) the Emperor ordered the eunuch Hou-hien to go to Bengal with presents for the king, queen and ministers of the country.

The route followed by Hou-hien to the capital of Bengal was the usual route of those days mentioned in other records as well. He disembarked at the port of Cha-ti-kiang (Chittagong). Thence they went in small boats up to Suo-na-eul-kiang (Sonargaon) which was apparently the emporium of trade "where all goods were collected and distributed." The distance between Chittagong and Sonargaon is given in one source as 500 li and in another as 16 stages. From Sonargaon to Pandua, the capital, the route lay overland and the distance was 20 stages. This gives the idea that the distance from Sonargaon to Pandua was greater than that from Chittagong to Sonargaon. This seems to be incorrect. One of the sources, the *Si yang ch'ao kung tien lu* mentions the distance between Chittagong and Sonargaon as 500 li and that between Sonargaon and Pandua as 35 li. This also is incorrect. The latter distance seems to have been 200 li.

From the account discussed above it is clear that ambassadors were sent from Bengal in 1405, 1408, 1409, 1412, 1414, 1438-39. The Chinese envoys were sent to Bengal for the first time soon after the Bengal mission of 1409. The second Chinese mission was sent soon after 1412, probably in 1413, to attend the coronation of the king of Bengal. The third mission was sent in 1415 and it was then that Hou-hien led the mission. On the first two occasions it was apparently the eunuch Cheng-ho who led the missions to Bengal. These were the third and fourth sailings of Cheng-ho to the west. Ma Huan, the compiler of the first account, the *Ying yai sheng lan*, came as his interpreter.

The biography of Cheng-ho in the *Ming she* gives a complete account of his sailings. It is said that he sailed seven times at the Imperial order between 1405 and 1433. The dates of these sailings are given as follows:

- (1) Yong-lo 3rd year to 5th year (1405-1407)
- (2) " 5th year to 7th year (1407-1409)
- (3) " 7th year to 9th year (1409-1411)
- (4) " 11th year to 13th year (1413-1415)
- (5) " 15th year to 17th year (1417-1419)

(6) , 19th year to 20th year (1421-1422)

(7) Hiuan-to 6th year to 8th year (1431-1433)

Some of the dates given by Groeneveldt in his *Notes on Malay Archipelago* on the basis of the *Ming-she* and quoted by Rockhill (*T'oung Pao*, 1915, pp. 81 ff.) seem to be wrong. His information is stated to have been derived from the "Biography of Cheng-ho" in the *Ming-she* but the dates as given by him are: (1) 1405-1407, (2) 1408-1411, (3) 1412-1415, (4) 1417-1419, (5) 1421-1421, (6) 1424-1425, and (7) 1430—date of return not known. We have stated above the dates as given in the said Biography.

"The Biography of Cheng-ho" mentions 36 or 37 countries which were visited by Cheng-ho during his various sailings. These include Peng-ko-la i.e. Bengal and another place in Northern India called Sha-li-wan-ni (沙里一泥) which cannot be identified. It may be a scribe's error for Sha-ni-p'u-li (沙泥普里). Admitting this correction it may be identified with Jaunpur which was then a powerful state in Behar and which, we shall see later on, was visited by a Chinese ambassador who was in all likelihood Cheng-ho. Cheng-ho also visited other places in the south, specially Cochin, Kulam, Quilon, Coromandel coast, Cail, Cambay, Ceylon and Maldives.

The information supplied by the Biography of Cheng-ho in the *Ming-she* is also confirmed by an inscription left by Cheng-ho. This inscription was set up by him in 1431 in the port of Liu-kia at T'ai-ts'ang when he was starting on his last voyage. It is found in the *Wu tu wen suei siu tsi* (吳都文粹續集) edited by Ts'ien-ku of the Ming dynasty, chap. 26. The inscription is entitled: "The Record of the events of communication with the barbarians (set up) in the T'ien-fei kong at the port of Liu-kia at T'ai-tsang" (婁劉家港天妃宮石刻通番事蹟記). The record states that it was set up by Cheng-ho in 1431 while starting on his 7th mission in the courtyard of the temple of T'ien-fei at Liu-kia. Cheng-ho

had great veneration for this goddess and believed that it was due to her grace that he had successfully completed all his voyages. T'ien-fei is simply stated to be a "goddess of the waters" in the Dictionaries (See *Couvreur* under *T'ien*). She might have been a goddess of the type of Manimekhala worshipped in the South sea Islands and Soutern India (See Lévi—*I. H. Q.* 1930, pp. 597 ff.).

The record further says that Cheg-ho's party consisted of two ambassadors, himself and Wang King-hong and four Vice-ambassadors, Chu-liang, Chou-fu, Hong-pao and Yang-chen. The following dates of his voyages are given in the inscription:

- (1) Yong-lo 3rd year to 5th year, (1405-1407).
- (2) „ 5th year to 7th year, (1407-1409).
- (3) „ 7th year to 9th year. (1409-1411).
- (4) „ 12th year to 13th year, (1414-1415).
- (5) „ 15th year (1417), date of return not given.
- (6) „ 19th year (1421), date of return not given.
- (7) Hiuan-to 5th year, (1430).

The last date is probably not correct as the inscription is dated 1431. He might have intended to start in the previous year but the voyage was evidently postponed for a year. The date of his last voyage as given in the *Ming-she* as 1431-1433 seems to be the correct date. All other dates mentioned in the inscription agree with those of the *Ming-she* except the initial year of his 4th voyage which is given here as 1414 but in the *Ming-she* as 1413.

Political Missions to Jaunpur.

But Cheng-ho's inscription does not throw any light on his missions to Bengal. There is some additional information on the events of Bengal between 1415 and 1420 in the *Ming-she* under the notice on Jaunpur. The *Sing ch'a sheng lan* of Fei-sin refers to the country of *Chao-na-fu-eui* (詔納福兒) which was to the west of Bengal, the country of the Diamond Seat (*Vajrāsana*) where Buddha attained spiritual enlightenment. This is without any doubt the kingdom of Jaunpur

which had come to be founded in 1393. Gayā, the place of Buddha's enlightenment was included in it. The *Ming-she* contains the following notices on Jaunpur.

(1) *Ming-she* (ch.340, lie-chuan 196—"the Biography of Hou-hien")—"In the 7th month of the 13th year yong-lo (1415) the Emperor wishing to communicate with Bengal and other countries, asked Hon-hien to go (to those countries) with a navy. "That country (i.e. Bengal) is East India. It is very far from China. Their king Sai-fo-ting (賽佛丁) sent ambassador with a tribute of Ki-lin and many native products. The Emperor was much pleased. He presented more in return. To the west of Bengal there is a kingdom called Sse-na-p'u-eul (沼納樸兒) which is situated in the middle of the Five Indies. This is the ancient country of Buddha. The king of the country had invaded Bengal. Sai-fo-ting informed the Chinese court. In the 9th month of the 18th year yong-lo (1420) the Emperor ordered Hou-hien to go and pacify them. Gold and money were then presented (to the king of Sse-na-p'u-eul) and the war was stopped."

(2) *Ming-she* (chap. 326): "Sse-na-p'u-eul (Jaunpur)—It is to the west of Bengal. It is also called Middle India. In ancient times it was the place of Buddha. In the 10th year of yong-lo (1412) an ambassador was sent to that kingdom with the Imperial mandate and gold embroidered silk and decorated clothes were presented to their king Yi-pu-la (亦不剝). In the 18th year young-lo (1420), the ambassador of Bengal informed (the Chinese court) that their king had invaded Bengal several times. Hou-hien was then sent with the orders of the Emperor to tell him (i.e. the king of Jaunpur) that by being good to a neighbour he could save his own. Presents of silk and money were given to him. Hou-hien then visited the Vajrāsana and made a gift to it. That kingdom is very far from China. So it did not send any present to China."

(3) *Siu-t'ong-tien*, chap. 140. It was compiled, in 1769. The information on Jaunpur given in it is exactly the same as the previous one of the *Ming-she*, ch. 326. Some of the spell-

ings only are differently given. Jaunpur is written Sse-na-pu-eul (沼納撲兒) and the name of the king as Ngo-pu-lo (額布勒).

These accounts clearly say that a Chinese ambassador was first sent in 1412 to the king of Jaunpur with presents with the hope of opening up diplomatic and commercial relations with him. This ambassador seems to have been Cheng-ho. This probably refers to his 4th sailing which was undertaken either in 1413 or in the year following. It is probable that the Imperial order was passed in 1412 but it was executed a year later. In 1415 the Emperor sent Hou-hien with a navy to communicate with Bengal and other countries. It is not known if he had gone up to Jaunpur at that time. Hou-hien was sent for the second time in the 9th month of 1420 to stop the war between Jaunpur and Bengal. The war was stopped by making a payment to the king of Jaunpur. The name of the king of Jaunpur is given as *Yi-pu-la* in one source and *Ngo-pu-lo* in another. Both the forms may be restored as "Ibra—" which certainly stands for Ibrahim or Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur who was on the throne from 1402 to 1436. The ambassador of Bengal who went to China in 1420 reported that his country had been invaded several times by the king of Jaunpur. In fact Bengal was invaded several times between 1409 and 1414 by Ibrahim Sharqi and his attacks were directed against the Hindu regime set up by Raja Ganesh in Bengal during this period (*The Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 252).

Chronology of the Kings of Bengal.

The political situation in Bengal in this period was very complicated and the chronology of kings so far worked out by scholars is far from certain. According to the *Cambridge History of India* (vol. III) it stands thus:

1. Ghiyās ud-din Azam Shah—(1370-1396).
2. Saif-ud-din Hamza Shah—(1396-1406)
(the son of Ghiyās-ud-din who was probably defeated by Ganesh in 1404 but continued to rule till 1406).

3. Shams-ud-din—(1406-1409)
(a son or an adopted son of Saif-ud-din, as a puppet in the hands of Ganesh).
4. Shihāb-ud-din Bayazid Shah—(1409-1414)
(his connection with Saif-ud-din and Shams-ud-din not known, a puppet in the hands of Ganesh).
5. Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Shah—(1414-1431)
(the son of Ganesh who embraced Islam and ascended the throne in 1414 after the death of his father).
6. Shams-ud-din Ahmad Shah—(1431-1432)
(the son of Jalal-ud-din).

But the Chinese accounts under consideration state the position in a different way altogether:

3rd year yong-lo (1405)—the king of Bengal was Ngai-ya-sse-ting (Ghiyās-ud-din).

6th year yong-lo (1408)—the same king of Bengal.

10th year yong-lo (1412)—the news of the death of the king reaches China—officials sent to attend the coronation of the new king Sai-wu-ting.

13th year yong-lo (1414)—presents to China from the new king Sai-fo-ting.¹ Hou-hien sent in 1415 with presents to Bengal.

18th year young-lo (1420)—ambassador came from king Sai-fo-ting of Bengal for help against the attacks of Ibra(him), king of Jaunpur.

This shows that Ghiyās-ud-din was alive when the mission of Bengal started in 1408. This mission reached China in 1409.

¹ The name of the new king was wrongly read by previous authors (specially by Mr. G. Phillips) as Kien-fuh-ting and Gien-fuh-ting (Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology*, pp. 66, 97). Dr. Bhattacharya accepted this reading and considered him as different from Saif-ud-din. He was led to the conclusion that the latter was dead by that time. But *Kien* or *Gien* (干) is a misreading for *Sai* (賽). This is clearly proved by the texts translated here.

Who was the king of whom the death news was carried to China by the mission of 1412? The importance attached to the news by the Emperor of China leads us to think that the king was Ghiyās-ud-din. The problem becomes more complicated when the question of the coronation of the new king comes in. The name of the new king is given in the *Ming-she* as Sai-wu-ting and in the 'Biography of Hou-hien' which also is incorporated in the *Ming-she* as Sai-fo-ting. There is no doubt that both the forms stand for the name of Saif-ud-din. The Mahomedan historians also tell us that Ghiyās-ud-din was succeeded by his son Saif-ud-din. According to one source this latter was on the throne for three years and seven months but according to another for 10 years². In the latter case he must have been on the throne till 1421. This agrees well with the information in the Chinese record about his sending an envoy to China in 1420 for help against Jaunpur.

So the chronology according to the Chinese records stands thus: Ghiyās-ud-din died in 1411 and Saif-ud-din succeeded him. His official coronation took place either 1412 or 1413 and it was attended by Chinese officials. Saif-ud-din was still alive in 1420 when Hou-hien, the Chinese envoy came to help him against Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur. Saif-ud-din might have been on the throne till 1421 if we believe that he ruled for 10 years.

But we get the name of an enigmatic ruler named Shihāb-ud-din Bayazid Shah who issued coins in his name from Hij. 812

² Much light has been thrown by Dr. N. K. Bhattachari on the chronology of these rulers in his book *Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal*. On the basis of new coins of Ghiyās-ud-din studied by him, he has been able to bring down the date of that ruler upto 1410-11. The new coins of this ruler discussed by him bear dates Hij. 811, 812, 813 (1410). Dr. Bhattachari thinks that Ghiyās-ud-din died in 1410 but the Chinese records show that he lived for a year more and that the news of his death was carried to China in 1412. Saif-ud-din ascended the throne that very year.

(1409)³ to Hij. 817 (1414). According to some sources it was only another name of Shams-ud-din, the son of Saif-ud-din, but this is not accepted by most of the authorities. This is also impossible according to the Chinese records which clearly say that Saif-ud-din who succeeded Ghiyās-ud-din in 1412-13 was still on the throne in 1420. Shihāb-ud-din Bayazid Shah therefore was issuing coins in his name during the latter part of the reign of Ghiyās-ud-din and the first part of the reign of Saif-ud-din.

Moreover the Mahomedan historians tell us that Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Shah, the son of Raja Ganesh, who had embraced Islam came to the throne in 1414 when Ganesh died. Jalal-ud-din issued coins in his own name from Hij. 818 (1415). Jalal-ud-din was on the throne till 1431 when his son Shams-ud-din Ahmad Shah succeeded. This latter ruled till 1442. This shows that Jalal-ud-din was also issuing coins in his own name when Saif-ud-din was on the throne. The Chinese records along with the evidence of coins therefore raise a problem which can be solved only by supposing the existence of a dual government in this period:

Ghiyās-ud-din (died 1411) : Shihāb-ud-din (1409-14).

↓ : :

Saif-ud-din (1412-1421) : Jalal-ud-din (1414-1431).

What part did then Raja Ganesh play? He was at first a minister of Ghiyās-ud-din and then assumed the sole authority.

3 This was the reading of Blochmann but Dr. Bhattachari (ibid. p. 100) expresses doubt on it. He has evidently been led to it by the complication in chronology but the arrangement which we have suggested by accepting the identification of Ganesh with Shihāb-ud-din obviates the difficulty. Coins in the Dacca Museum studied by Dr. Bhattachari have supplied the following dates for Shihāb-ud-din: Hij. 817, 816, 815 and 814 (?) ibid. pp. 102-4. The only sure date supplied by the coins of Saif-ud-din is also Hij. 814 (ibid. p. 92). We need not assume that Saif-ud-din died that year. It simply shows that the supreme authority definitely passed into the hands of Shihāb-ud-din after it had been exercised for a short time by Saif-ud-din just after the death of his father.

He might have been responsible for the death of Ghiyās-ud-din, but that is not certain. The Chinese records do not speak of any violent death of the king. Saif-ud-din's succession was also peaceful. Ganesh was in power till his death in 1414. A suggestion was made by some scholars that it was probably Raja Ganesh who had assumed the Mahomedan name of Shihāb-ud-din Bayazid Shah in order to please the Mahomedans. His son's acceptance of Islam was only one step further. The suggestion perfectly agrees with the order of things. Ganesh rose to power in 1409 during the latter part of the reign of Ghiyās-ud-din and died in 1414 when Saif-ud-din had been on throne only for two or three years. Ghiyās-ud-din evidently became a puppet in the hands of Ganesh in his last years, and the *de facto* ruler of the country was Raja Ganesh *alias* Shihāb-ud-din Bayazid Shah.⁴ Saif-ud-din was similarly a puppet first in the hands of Raja Ganesh and subsequently in the hands of his son Jalal-ud-din. It is difficult to say if Jalal-ud-din became the sole ruler of the country in 1421 after the death of Saif-ud-din or allowed the latter's son or adopted son who is also called Shams-ud-din to rule for a few years more as a puppet. The repeated attacks of Ibrahim Sharqi were not directed so much against Ghiyās-ud-din and Saif-ud-din as against Ganesh (*alias* Shihāb-ud-din) and his son Jalal-ud-din who had become the real rulers of the land. The Mahomedan historians tell us that Ibrahim Sharqi was specially requested

4 Dr. Bhattachari (*ibid.* pp. 107 ff) has restored the name of another king Alauddin Firoz Shah Ibn Bayazid Shah who ruled for only one year. Three of his coins discovered so far either issued from Satgaon or Mu'azzamabad bear the date Hij. 817 (1414). He seems to have been another son of Shihāb-ud-din who after the death of his father wanted to usurp the throne. But evidently he did not succeed in getting possession of the capital where Jalal-ud-din established himself from the very next year (Hij. 818). Firoz either died or was simply removed. If we accept the identification of Shihāb-ud-din with Raja Ganesh, Firoz would probably be the Hindu brother of Jalal-ud-din with a Mahomedan name.

by Qutb-ul-'Alam, a Mahomedan saint of Bengal, to intervene in favour of the Mahomedans. We are further told that Ganesh got out of this difficulty by allowing his son to be converted by Qutb. His assumption of a Mahomedan name might have also been to pacify the Mahomedan subjects. The Chinese money, as the *Ming-she* tells us, might have also succeeded in pacifying Ibrahim Sharqi for the time being⁵.

The Chinese envoys had no chance of knowing the real situation in Bengal. Ghiyās-ud-din and his successors were certainly presented to them as the *de jure* rulers of Bengal on such ceremonial occasions as the reception of foreign ambassadors. This practice is not unknown in some states in modern times. The Hindu predominance in the court is also suggested by the oldest Chinese account of the official banquet given in honour of the Chinese ambassador at Pandua. It is said: "(At the banquet) eating beef or mutton was forbidden nor could they drink for fear of trouble and because it is a breach of decorum, but they drank sweetened rose water."⁶ This does

5 The coins supply names of two more kings named Danujamardana and his son Mahendradeva about whom no information is available from the Chinese records. All coins of Dhanujamardana discovered so far were issued from Chatgaon, Sonargaon and Pandua and bear the dates Hij 820 and 821 (1417-1418). Those of Mahendradeva were issued from Chatgaon and Pandua in Hij. 821 (1418). Dr. Bhattacharya would identify Danujamardana with Raja Ganesh and Mahendradeva with the latter's son Jadu. This would be his name before his conversion to Islam (*ibid.* pp. 113 ff.). But Raja Ganesh seems to have died or abdicated in 1414 and Jadu began to strike coins in his Mahomedan name Jalal-ud-din from 1415. There is no coin struck by him in 1417 and a part of the year 1418, and this was the period when Danujamardana and Mahendradeva were in power. Jalal-ud-din's coins again reappear from 1418. We have seen that the *de jure* ruler of the country was still Saif-ud-din and it is just possible that due to an intrigue in the court power had been seized temporarily by another noble.

6 There is some difficulty about the interpretation of this passage. This passage occurs in the *Sing ch'a sheng lan* as translated by Rockhill

not look like a Mahomedan banquet. Why should beef and mutton be forbidden in a truly Mahomedan banquet? Evidently Raja Ganesh had so much power that he was able to decide how the court should behave in a Hindu country on ceremonial occasions. He himself had made similar concessions to the Mahomedans of the country by his avowed leanings towards Islam. Had we possessed a true account of this period we would have probably found that a fusion of the two powers, Hindu and Mahomedan, into a harmonious one had taken place in the country and that it was a deliberate act on the part of Ghiyās-ud-din and Raja Ganesh. There was probably no question of usurpation of power by the latter.

All accounts agree in saying that Ganesh rose to power between 1405 and 1409. Curiously enough this was the period when ambassadors from Bengal began to be sent to China. The initiative was taken by the court of Bengal. Their visits to China were made almost annually till 1414 when Ganesh died.

(infra p. 122). The *Sing ch'a sheng lan* is one of the oldest accounts and as we have already seen it was compiled by Fei-sin in 1436. There is no copy of the text in our Library and hence it is not possible to verify Rockhill's translation. Two other accounts—the *Si yang ch'ao kung tien lu* (infra no. III) and the *Shu yu chou tseu lu* (infra, no. IV) give a different description of the banquet: ". . . the king entertained the Chinese mission with a feast of both smoked and roasted beef and mutton, rose water and sweetened water." and "They offered roasted beef and mutton but there is prohibition for drinking wine as it changes our nature." The actual Chinese text in the last mentioned account is: 燭灸牛羊禁不飲酒恐亂性而失禮 and it should be translated in the way in which we have done. But it is also possible though that would mean some violence to the Chinese text to punctuate it by putting a stop after *kin* 禁: in that case it may be translated as "Roasted beef and mutton were forbidden and nobody could drink for fear that it troubles our spirit and changes our nature." The *Sing ch'a sheng lan* is a contemporaneous account and if Rockhill's translation may be relied on it should be taken as the most faithful picture of the customs prevalent in the court.

After that date ambassadors were sent only twice, once in 1420 and another time in 1438-39. The line of Raja Ganesh became extinct in 1442 and since then there was no attempt to resume relations with China. It therefore appears that the new foreign policy was decided upon by Ganesh and was pursued so long as his successors were in power. The rival state of Jaunpur had become powerful and the Sultanate of Delhi, however weak it might have been, was always looking on Bengal as a rebel province. There was necessarily an anxiety in the mind of Ganesh who was responsible for the new Hindu-Moslem regime in Bengal to secure assistance if possible from China, against any possible aggression either by the Sultans of Delhi or by the Sharqis of Jaunpur. In fact this help was asked for at least once in 1420 against the repeated attacks of Ibrahim Sharqi who had dislike for the new regime.

Social and Economic condition

The Chinese records discussed here throw some light, however meagre that might be, on the social and economic condition of Bengal in the 15th century. The population was divided into two groups, Moslem and Hindu (Yin-tu). The customs of the two were different. About the Hindus it is said that they did not eat beef and that the women and men did not eat at the same place. It is also said: "When the husband dies the wife does not marry again nor does the husband marry again when the wife dies." Unless we believe that the Chinese envoys were misinformed this piece of information is of very great importance for the study of the social history of Bengal of the earlier period. It shows that polygamy was still unknown amongst the Hindus of at least the metropolitan districts of Bengal in the 15th century. We are further told that the people were so generous as not to allow the destitutes of one village to seek food in another village. It was a duty of the co-villagers to maintain their own destitutes. The standard of honesty was very high as it is said that in business even involving such a big price as ten thousand pieces of gold when one enters into a contract he respects it.

The language in universal use was P'eng-kie-li, i.e., Bengali, but Persian was also in use most probably among the nobles. About the dress of the men we are told that they wore a white cotton turban and on their bodies a long gown with a round collar and held around them by an embroidered sash. They also used leather slippers. This was evidently the dress of the rich people of the country whether Hindu or Muslim. The use of caps was reserved for the king and the Muslim nobles of the court. About the dress of the women it is said that they wore a short shirt, and wrapped around them a piece of cotton, silk or brocade. This was evidently the dress of the Muslim women of noble families. The ornaments in use were usually earrings of precious stones set in gold, pendants for the neck, bracelets for the wrists and ankles, and rings for the fingers and the toes.

Among the people were found various professional classes such as geomancers, physicians, diviners, artisans skilled in different branches of work, singers and dancers. There were also professional musical parties who used to go to the houses of nobles every morning to play on musical instruments specially the *sanai*. The custom of entertaining the guests with songs by dancing girls was already in vogue among the rich people. Tiger play was also a popular show among the public.

The country was rich and prosperous. We have already seen what Wang Ta-yuan, a writer of the 14th century writes about Bengal. He says: "The seasons of Heaven have scattered the wealth of the Earth over this kingdom, the riches and integrity of its people surpass, perhaps those of Palembang and equal those of Java." All accounts say that the soil was fertile and that it produced in abundance. The land used to yield usually two crops a year. There was no need of artificial irrigation and the crops grew by themselves in the proper season. Both men and women were diligent in works of the field. In seasons other than the sowing seasons, the people were used to spinning and weaving. Among the agricultural products of Bengal the Chinese specially mention—rice which

ripens twice a year, two kinds of millet, sesamum, beans, ginger, mustard, onions, garlic, cucumber, melons and brinjal. Among other native products the Chinese mention coral, pearls, crystals, cornelians and peacock feathers. The common fruits were banana, jack fruit, sour pomegranate and cocoa-nut. Sugar-cane, sugar, honey, butter and ghee were also much in use.

The Chinese speak of the various industries of Bengal, paper, lacquer, sugar, cotton and silk. Paper used to be made from the mulberry tree. In one account it is said that the Bengal paper was white and that it used to be made out from the bark of a tree. It is probably the same tree that is meant. The paper was as smooth and glossy as the deer skin. The most important industry was however the cotton industry and the Chinese accounts mention a number of cotton fabrics of Bengal, all of which however cannot be identified. They mention six kinds of cotton stuff produced in Bengal:

(i) One kind is called *pi-pu* (繩布) or *pi-po* (一泊)—it was of several colours. It was a cotton stuff which was according to one account over three feet broad and fifty-six feet long, and according to another over two feet broad and fifty-six feet long. It was fine and glossy like painted stuffs. It was identified with the stuff called *betteela* by Ibn Batuta (*T'oung Pao*, 1915, p. 440 n.), but *pi-pu* could not have been the transcription of that name. *Pi-pu* would be in Cantonese *pat-pou* and this suggests a name like *bafta* which was in fact a general Persian name of cotton stuffs.

(ii) *Man-che-t'i* (滿者堤)—it was a yellow cotton stuff, four feet broad and over fifty feet long. It was very closely woven and strong. The original of this name again is uncertain. The latter part of the name looks like *chite*. Tavernier mentions it as a painted cotton cloth which was also known as *calmendar* (*kalamdar*).

(iii) *Sha-na-pa-fu* (沙納巴付)—which was a stuff five feet broad and thirty feet long. It has been identified with

Persian *Shanbaft* which is the name of cotton gauze. The identification may be taken as correct.

(iv) *K'i-pai-lei-ta-li* (斬白勒搭黎); this name occurs under various forms such as *K'i-pai-tung-ta-li* (一重一) *K'i-pai-k'in* (勤)-*ta-li*, *Che-chu-hei-ta-li* (者珠黑答立) etc. The correct form of the name seems to be *K'i-pai-k'in-ta-li*. Although it is difficult to say what is exactly meant by *K'i-pai* the latter part of the name *k'in-ta-li* evidently stands for *chantar* (Beng. *chādar*). The Chinese accounts give the measurement of these sheets as three feet broad and sixty feet long. It is said that this stuff was a loosely woven and coarse one and was a cotton gauze.

(v) *Sha-ta-eul* (沙塌兒) was a stuff used for turbans. Its measurement is given in one source as 5 inches broad and 40 feet long and in another as $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad and 4 feet long. It is difficult to say which one is the correct one. The first measurement has the chance of being the correct one as for turbans usually very long pieces are needed. The original of the name is not known. It looks like *chādar*.

(vi) *Ma-hei-ma-lei* (幕黑幕勒) was a stuff four feet broad and twenty feet long. On the wrong side it was covered with a nap half an inch long. The Chinese say that it is the same as *tu-lo-kin* (var. *mien*) 兜羅錦 [綵]. It is no doubt the same as the Malmal. *Tu-lo-mien* is described in the Buddhist texts as a very soft cotton stuff. In fact Malmal was also a stuff of the same quality. *Tu-lo* is a transcription of Sanskrit *tulā*, cotton. *Tu-lo-mien* simply meant a fine cotton stuff.

Of other fabrics in use in Bengal the Chinese accounts mention, silk, embroidered silk handkerchiefs, brocaded taffetas *sa-ha-la* (撒哈刺) i.e. shawl, etc.

The Chinese accounts tell us that the people had a big trade. The market place in the capital was full of different types of shops where all sorts of things were available. The Chinese trade with Bengal consisted of gold, silver, satins, silk,

blue and white porcelain, copper, iron, vermillion, quicksilver and grass mats.

The Chinese visitors describe the people of Bengal as very generous and courteous and say: "To conclude, Bengal is rich and civilised. To our ambassador they presented gold basins, gold girdles, gold flagons, and gold bowls and to our vice-ambassador the same articles in silver. To our officials of the ministry of foreign affairs they presented golden bells and long gowns of white hemp and silk. Our soldiers got silver coins. If they had not been rich how could they do it in such an extravagant way?"

A note on K'i-lin.

In some of the texts translated here, there is reference to an animal called K'i-lin which was presented to the Emperor by the king of Bengal. This was an animal not known in China and it aroused an unforeseen curiosity among the Chinese on its arrival. Hence a proposal was made by the officials to congratulate the Emperor formally on this occasion. Poems were written on K'i-lin. The commentary of the *Shu yu chou tseu lu* says that K'i-lin was presented by the Bengal court four times in the young-lo period. It further tells us that in the 7th year ch'eng-hua (1471 A.D.) a K'i-lin was born at Chang-to. It looked like a tiger and had the tail and hoofs of a cow. The people killed it. In the 4th month of the 6th year kia-tsing (1525 A.D.) another was born at Wu-yang. It is not clear if these accounts have been mixed up with fables. But the K'i-lin presented by the king of Bengal was an African giraffe.

I.

Ying Yai sheng lan.

“The country is extensive, the population dense, the wealth and property abundant and great. Travelling by sea from Su-men-ta-la (Sumatra) and an island (i.e. the Mao-shan, Pulo-weh) and the Tsui-lan islands (Nicobars) are sighted, (whence) going north-westward for twenty li (sic. days) one arrives at Che-ti-kiang (Chittagong). Here one changes to a small boat and after going five hundred and odd li one comes to So-na-eul-kiang (Sonargaon), whence one reaches the capital. It has walls and suburbs; the king’s palace and the large and small palaces of the nobility and temples, are all in the city. They are Musalmans.

The customs are pure and honest. The men and women are all black coloured, white ones are rare. All the men tie up (or cut off 觸) their hair and wear a white cotton turban and on their bodies a long gown with a round collar and held around them by an embroidered sash. On their feet they wear leather slippers.

The king and his highest officers follow in their caps and clothing the Muslim style. They are very clean and neat. The language in universal use is P’ang-kie-li (Bengali); there are also those who speak in Pa-eul-si (Farsi=Persian).

In trade they use a silver coin called Tangka, weighing three candareens, an inch and two-tenths in diameter and with writing on either side. With it they settle the price of goods according to weight. They have also sea-shells called k’ao-li (cowrie).

Their marriages and funerals are both according to the Muslim religion.

The climate is constantly as hot as in summer.

Their punishments include beating with heavy bamboo and banishment.

Their officials have seals and communicate by despatches. Their army has pay and rations. The commander of the army is called *Pa-sse-la-eul*¹ (*sipāh-sālār*).

There are geomancers, physicians, diviners, all kinds of artisans skilled in every branch of work. There are people who wear a shirt with black and white patterns and held by a scarf with a fringe round their waists of coral and amber, coloured beads and with bracelets of beads fastened on their wrists. They are good singers and dancers to enliven drinking and feasting.

There are people called *Ken-siao-su-lu-nai* (根肖速魯奈) who are mounte-banks. Every day at the stroke of five they come around the gates of the houses of high officials and of the wealthy people blowing *so-na*² (*Surnā*-flageolets) and beating drums and then pass on to another. When comes the breakfast hour they go to each house to be rewarded with wine, food, money or other things. Besides these there are also every other kind of players.

(Thus there are people who) go about the market places and

1 Rockhill restores *pa-sseu-la-eul* (吧斯刺兒) as *sipah-salar*—“army leader.” Dr. Bhattachari (ibid, p. 171, n. 2) thinks that the original word was *Fauzdar*. This is not phonetically justified. Besides *Fauzdar* was an officer of much lower rank than the Commander of the Army.

2 Rockhill notes a different version from a separate edition of the text which runs as follows: “There is a clan of people called *Ken-hsiao-su-lu-nai* or musicians. Daily in the fifth watch they come and stand before the front doors of the chiefs and wealthy people, one of them blowing a *so-na* (flageolet), another beating a small drum, at first crescendo, then slowly, then in measured time. After that they gradually press the measure, then stop.” *So-na* is no doubt Persian *zurna*, (Laufer, *T'oung Pao*, 1916, p. 480), Bengali *Sanai* but the original word for *Ken-siao-su-lu-nai* is not known. Rockhill suggested that *su-lu-na* may be the same as *so-na* i.e. *surna* but *ken-siao* remains unexplained. Such musicians as a social class are still known in Bengal, but the Persian name by which they were known in the 15th century has been forgotten.

to the homes with a tiger held by an iron chain. They undo the chain and the tiger lies down in the courtyard. The naked man then strikes the tiger who becomes enraged and jumps at him and he falls with the tiger. This he does several times, after which he thrusts his fist in the tiger's throat without wounding him. After this performance he chains him up again and the people of the house do not fail to feed the tiger with meat and reward the man with money. So the tiger tamer has a promising business.

Their almanac has twelve months, without any intercalary ones.

The native products are red millet, sesamum, beans, glutinous millets, and rice which ripens twice a year. The vegetables comprise ginger, mustard, onions, garlic, cucumbers, and egg-plant. They have spirits made from cocoanut, from the nut of a tree and *kajang*³ wine. Betel-nuts take the place of tea (as with us in China).

The domestic animals comprise the camel, horse, mule, water buffalo, cattle, the marine goat, fowls, ducks, pigs, geese, dogs and cats.

Their fruits are the banana, the jack fruit, sour pomegranate, sugar-cane, sugar and honey.

Of cotton fabrics they have *pi-pu* of several colours; it is called *pi-po* and it is over three feet broad and fifty-seven feet long. It is as fine and as glossy as if painted. There is a ginger-yellow cotton stuff called *man-che-ti* which is four feet broad and over fifty feet long; it is very closely woven and strong. What is called *sha-na-pa-fu* is five feet broad and thirty feet long; it is like *sheng-lo* (生羅 pongee) and is a *pu-lo* (?*tu-lo* cotton gauze). What is called *k'i-pai-lei-ta-li* is

3 Kajang wine was a common drink in the islands of the Indian Archipelago (Rockhill—Chau Ju-kua), but its use in Bengal is not known. Probably it has been introduced here through mistake. This wine used to be prepared either from the leaves or seeds of the Kajang (*Kia-chang*) plant that grows in those islands.

three feet broad and sixty feet long. (This) cloth is loosely woven and coarse; it is a cotton gauze.

The stuff for turbans is called *sha-ta-eul* (*chādar*); it is five inches broad and forty feet long and is like our *san-so* (三梭). *Ma-hei-ma-lei* is a stuff four feet broad and twenty-feet long; on the wrong side it is covered with nap half an inch long; it is our *tu-lo-kin*. They weave with silk, embroidered silk hand-kerchiefs. They have also brocaded taffetas. Their paper is white; it is made out with the bark of a tree, and is as smooth and glossy as deers' skin.

Their household implements include lacquered cups and bowls, steel guns and scissors.”

II

Sing ch'a sheng lan.

“This country can be reached from Sumatra with a favourable wind in twenty days. This is a country in India of the West⁴. On the west, Bengal confines on the kingdom of the Vajrāsana called Chao-na-fu-eul⁵ (詔納福兒), which is the place where Śākyā attained spiritual wisdom. In the 13th year *yong-lo* (1415 A.D.) under the imperial orders twice issued the eunuch Hou-hien and others went with a fleet to present in his names presents to the king, his consort and chiefs.

The country has a sea-port on a bay called Ch'a-ti-kiang (Chittagong). Here certain duties are collected. When the king heard that our ships had arrived there, he sent high

4 Rockhill translates it as “This is also a country of western Yin-tu” but this would be meaningless in the present context. This should be taken in the sense of India of the West. India was always looked upon by the Chinese as a country of the west (*si-yu*).

5 Rockhill—“Precious Diamond Throne.” This is Vajrāsana or Gaya. Rockhill did not suggest any identification for Chao-na-fu-eul. There is however no doubt that it is Jaunpur of which the District of Gaya formed a part.

officers to offer robes and other presents, and over a thousand men and horses also came to the port. After going 16 stages, we reached Suo-na-eul-kiang (Sonargaon) which is a walled place with tanks, streets, bazars and which carries on a business in all kinds of goods. Here servants of the king met us with elephants and horses. Going thence twenty stages we came to Pan-tu-wa⁶ (Pandua) which is the place of residence of the ruler. The city walls are very imposing, the bazars well arranged, the shops side by side, the pillars in orderly rows, they are full of every kind of goods.

The dwelling of the king is all of bricks set in mortar, the flight of steps leading up to it is high and broad. The halls are flat-roofed and white-washed inside. The inner doors are of triple thickness and of nine panels. In the audience hall the pillars are plated with brass, ornamented with figures of flowers and animals, carved and polished. To the right and left are long verandahs on which were drawn up (on the occasion of our audience) over a thousand men in shining armour, and on horseback outside, filling the courtyard, were long ranks of (our) Chinese (soldiers) in shining helmets and coats of mail, with spears, swords, bows and arrows, looking martial and lusty. To the right and the left of the king were hundreds of peacock feather umbrellas and before the hall were some hundreds of soldiers mounted on elephants. The king sat cross-legged in the principal hall on a high throne inlaid with precious stones and a two-edged sword lay across his lap.

Two men bearing silver staffs and with turbaned heads came to usher (us) in. When we had taken five steps forward they made salutation. On reaching the middle of the hall they halted and two other men with gold staffs led us with some ceremony as previously. The king having returned our salutations kotowed before the Imperial Mandate, raised it to his head, then opened and read it. The imperial gifts were all spread out on carpets in the audience hall.

6 Rockhill takes Pan-tu-wa to be Patna but this is certainly wrong. Pandua, the capital of Bengal is meant.

The king entertained the imperial envoys at a banquet and our soldiers were given many presents. (At the banquet to the envoys) eating beef or mutton was forbidden, nor could they drink wine for fear of trouble and because it is breach of decorum, but they drank sweetened rose-water (sherbet). When the banquet was over, (the king) bestowed on the envoys gold basins, gold girdles, gold flagons, and gold bowls, all Assistant Envoys receiving the same articles in silver and each of the lower officials a golden bell and a long gown of white hemp and silk. All the soldiers (of the escort) got silver money. Of a truth this country is rich and courteous. After this (the king) had made a case (lit. tube) in gold in which he placed a Memorial to the Emperor, written on a leaf of gold and the envoys received it from him with due respect in the audience hall, together with various gifts to the Emperor.

The people of this country are most generous in character. The men wear a white cotton turban and a long white cotton shirt. On their feet they wear low sheep-skin shoes with gold thread. The smarter ones think it a correct thing to have designs on them. Every one of them is engaged in business, the value of which may be ten thousand pieces of gold, but when a bargain has been struck, they never express regret.

The women wear a short shirt, wrap around them a piece of cotton, silk or brocade. They do not use cosmetics, for they have naturally a white complexion; in their ears they wear ear-rings of precious stones set in gold. Around their necks they hang pendants, and they do up their hair in knot behind. On their wrists and ankles are gold bracelets and on their fingers and toes rings.

There is a clan of people called Yin tu (Hindu) who do not eat beef, and the men and the women do not eat in the same place. When the husband dies, the wife does not marry again, nor does the husband marry again when the wife dies. If there are any very poor among them and with no means of support, the various families of the village will, in turn support them, but they are not allowed to seek their food in

other villages. So (the people) are praised for their broad public spirit.

The soil is fertile and produces in abundance, for they have two crops every year. They do not weed or hoe their fields but men and women work in the fields or weave according to season.

Among their fruits they have the po-lo-mi⁷ (jack fruit) which is as big as a bushel measure and wonderfully sweet; also the mango (a-mo-lo), though it has a sour flavour it is very nice. For the rest they have fruits and vegetables, cattle, horses, fowls, sheep, ducks and sea-fish. In their very extensive trade they use cowrie shells instead of coin.

The natural products are fine cotton cloths (muslins), sa-ha-la, rugs, tu-lo-kin, cotton stuffs, rock-crystal, agate, amber, pearls, precious stones, sugar, ghee, king-fishers' feathers, and veils of sundry colours to veil the face.

The goods (used by the Chinese in trading here) are gold, silver, satins, silks, blue and white porcelain, copper, iron, musk, vermillion, quick-silver and grass mats."

III.

Si yang ch'ao kung tien lu.

This country is to the north of the Nicobar islands at a distance of about 7000 li. It is called Eastern India. It is a thousand li square. Starting from Sumatra and going by Mao-shan and Tsui-lan (Nicobar) in a North-Westerly direction with a favourable wind one reaches Chittagong in 20 days. It is also known as the port of Ch'a-ti-kiang (Chittagong). After reembarking in small boats and travelling about 500 li one comes to Suo-na-eul-kong (Sonargaon). It has city walls, tanks, streets and markets. Again starting from there and travelling for 20 li one reaches Pandua which is the capital.

7 Po-lo-mi as the name of jack-fruit is not known. It may be a mistake for Po-nto-so i.e. *panasa*.

Both the suburbs and the city itself are large and elegant. The king has a very big palace which is flat roofed and white-washed. The inner doors are of triple thickness and of nine panels. All the pillars of the palace are ornamented in brass with figures of flowers and animals, carved and polished. Both the king and his officials follow the Mahomedan style in their turbans and dress. They all are Mahomedans and observe also the Mahomedan marriage and burial customs. The people of Bengal are good tempered, rich and honest. They are famous in commerce. All men cut off their hairs and wrap their head with a cotton turban of white colour. They wear long gowns with a round collar with a coloured sash on the lower part of their body, and put on leather slippers on their feet. The women dress their hairs in knot on their heads. They wear a short shirt and wrap their body with a piece of coloured cloth, silk or brocade. They wear earrings of precious stones set in gold. Around their necks they have pendants, on their wrists and ankle gold bracelets and on their fingers and toes rings.

The climate in that country is always hot. Their almanac has twelve months without any intercalary month. The heaviest punishment is limited to banishment only. All officials have seals and communicate by despatches. The commander of the troop is called Sinah-salar. There are in the country physicians, astrologers, diviners and all kinds of artisans who are skillful in hundreds of crafts. They gather in the market and hold different shops there. Their language is Bengali but they are experts also in Persian. There is a class of musician called *Ken-siao-su-lu-nai*. They go to the houses of the wealthy people and the high officials and always play their musical instruments every morning. One beats a small drum, another a big one and the third blows a *pi-li* (flageolet). Their music begins in a low and slow tone but ends swiftly and in a high pitch. When they finish their musical performance the hosts reward them with wine, food and *taṅgka*.

They use betel nuts to entertain their visitors but when they invite guests to a formal feast there is dancing and songs by actresses and dancing girls for the amusement of the

guests. The actresses wear lined cloth in light red colour with decorations of flowers. They wrap the lower part of their body with coloured silken sash. They hang pendants and necklaces of either five coloured precious stones or coral or amber on both the neck and the shoulders and blue and red precious stones on their wrists.

Tiger play is much appreciated by the public. A man drags a tiger held by an iron chain and walks along the street. While the play begins the man loosens the chain and the tiger lies down on the ground. The man is naked. He strikes the tiger which becomes enraged and jumps at him. He then falls on the ground and fights with the tiger several times. After which he thrusts his hands into the tiger's mouth without wounding it. When the play ends the tiger lies down on ground again. The people then feed the tiger with flesh and give tangka to the man.

In trade they use either a silver coin which is called tangka or sea shells which are called cowrie. Their main industry is the manufacture of cloth. Their soil is very fertile and can produce every kind of crops. There are two crops a year. Besides, the country is good for feeding all kinds of cattles and domestic animals. Their silver coins weigh 3/10 of a tael official weight, and are one inch and 2/10 in diameter with designs on the obverse. The cowries are taken by weight.

There are four kinds of wine, one is made from cocoanut, one is made from rice, another is made from the aquatic plant *kajang* and the last one from *t'ung* seeds. They manufacture six kinds of cloth: one kind of cotton stuff is called *pi-pu*. It is over two feet broad and 56 feet long. It is fine and white. There is a yellow cotton stuff called *man-che-t'i* which is four feet broad and 50 feet long. It is very closely woven and is strong. Cotton gauze is called *shanbaft*. It is five feet broad and 30 feet long. It is like pongee. Another kind of gauze is called *ki-pai-kin-ta-li* which is 3 feet broad and 60 feet long. It is used as turbans for the head. Another kind of cloth which is like our san-so and 2½ feet broad and 4 feet long is called *sa-ta-eul*. The malmal is a stuff 4 feet broad

and 20 feet long. On the wrong side it is covered with a nap $\frac{1}{2}$ inch long. It is our *tu-lo-kin*.

The native products are coral, pearls, crystals, cornelians and peacock feathers. As regards fruits they have banana, jack-fruit, pomegranates, sour prunes, sugarcane, etc. There are much butter, ghee, and honey. There are different kinds of melons, onion, ginger, custard, brinjal and garlic. They have camels. Paper is made of mulberry tree. There is a tree which bears slender branches and green leaves. It blossoms in the morning and fades at night, similar to our *ye-ho* (夜合 magnolia pumila). Its fruit resembles our plums (李). It is called *an-mo-lo* (āmalaka). It is also called *yu-kan*⁸ (餘甘 .lit. sweet remainder). It can cure the poison of cinnabar (丹) and stone (石).

When the king of Bengal receives the mandate of the Emperor of China there are long rows of over a thousand soldiers in shining armours, riding on horses in the right and the left verandahs of the palace. Besides there are warriors in bright helmets and armours with swords, bows and arrows in their hands, standing there as guards, looking martial and lusty. There are hundred men holding umbrellas of peacock feathers in the courtyard and hundred men mounting on elephants in the principal hall. The king sits on a high throne inlaid with eight kinds of precious stones and a two edged sword lies across his lap. Two officials bearing silver staffs come to lead the Chinese ambassador, at every five steps they make a salute and stop in the midway. Again two other officials with gold staffs come forward and lead the ambassador with the same ceremony as before. The king politely and reverently receives the imperial mandate and salutes by placing his hands on his forehead. When the reading of the imperial mandate and the list of presents end,

8 Rockhill takes *an-mo-lo* to be mango -āmra, but its description as *yu-kan* "sweet remainder" and its mention as a medicine show that āmalaka, myrabolan is meant.

carpets are spread on the floor and the king entertains the Chinese mission with a feast of both smoked and roasted beef and mutton, rose water, and sweetened water of different kinds of perfumes.

Their tributes are not regular. In the 6th year yong-lo (1408) king Ngai-ya-sse-ting (Ghiyās-ud-din) sent ambassador with tribute. The ambassador reached T'ai-ts'ang in the 9th year yong-lo (1411). An official of the ministry of foreign affairs was sent there to receive him. In the 12th year yong-lo (1414) an ambassador named Pa-yi-tsi⁹ (*Bayazid*) was sent to China with a tribute of k'i-lin and other things. Another ambassador was sent in the 3rd year cheng-t'ong (1438) with the same tributes as sent on the previous occasion. The letter which was written by the king of Bengal was written on golden leaf. Their tributes consisted of horses, saddles, ornaments in gold and silver, gold engravings, leou-li vases, white porcelain with blue decoration, *sa-ha-la* (shawl), *cho-fu-hei-ta-li* cloth, *tu-lo-kin*, crystallised sugar, skull of buceros, unicorn's horn, peacock feathers, parrots, frankincense, raw gharu wood (aguru), guggula, khadira, purple glue, dragon's blood incense (*karpūra*), ebony, sapan and pepper.

To conclude Bengal is rich and civilised. To our ambassador they presented gold basins, gold girdles, gold flagons, and gold bowls and to our vice-ambassador the same articles in silver. To our officials of the ministry of foreign affairs they presented golden bells and long gowns of white hemp and silk. Our soldiers got silver coins. If they had not been rich how could they do it in such an extravagant way?

IV

Shu yu chou tseu lu.

Bengal is the ancient province of Sin-tu (India). It is India of the west. India has five Yin-tu (Indies). This is

⁹ The name of the ambassador Pa-yi-tsi (Cant. pa-i-t-tsai) probably refers to his family name. It may be quite well restored as Bayazid.

the Eastern Yin-tu country. This is also called the country of Si yin-tu (India of the west). This is the place where Sākyā-(muni) attained enlightenment. Tsa-ti-kiang (Cātigāon) is at the mouth of the sea. Merchants from foreign countries come from outside and anchor there. They assemble and divide the profits of their merchandise at this place. During the reign of Ming-ti of the Han dynasty the religion of Buddha came to this country (China).¹⁰ The custom in India is to burn the dead body on the pyre which is called *ch'a-pi* (荼毗 ? *t'u-pi—stūpa*). This custom is prevalent even now. The disciples of Buddha also follow this custom. The ordinary people of China also imitate this and burn their dead bodies.

In the 3rd year yong-lo (1405 A.D.) of the present Ming dynasty Ngai-ya-sse-ting (Ghiyās-ud-din), the king of this country (i.e. Bengal) sent an ambassador to the Imperial court. The emperor ordered for the presentation of four sheets of each¹¹ (of the four varieties of silk): *chu*, *sse*, *sha*, and *lo*, eight

10 A note added by the commentator mentions in this connection the Lie-tseu in which there is reference to the supernatural man appearing to Emperor Mu Wang of the Chou dynasty. The story runs that the emperor bowed to him and built a very high platform in his honour. The note then relates the story of She-li-fang and his companions who are said to have come to the court of She- Huang-ti of Ts'in dynasty and speaks also of the golden image that was brought by general Ho-kiu-ping from the Lien-ki mountains. The commentator mentions all these stories to prove that Buddhism came to China in the Chou, Ts'in and the First Han periods and that the story of its introduction during the reign of Ming-ti of the Later Han dynasty is incorrect. But these legends are no longer believed to have any historical importance. They are pious forgeries of later times.

11 These are varieties of Chinese silk. Their names cannot be translated properly. The Chinese stuffs mentioned here and earlier are the following: *jen* which is a sort of silk stuff or tissues, *chu* (絛) is a hemp stuff, *sse* (絲) is ordinary silk, *tuan* (綢) coarse silk stuff, *ch'uan* (綢) white silk gauze used either for writing or

sheets of *ch'uan* to the king, and three sheets of *chu*, *sse*, *sha* and *lo* and six sheets of *ch'uan* to the queen. He ordered an ambassador to go to India and to invite some Buddhist monk. A Buddhist monk came to the capital.¹² His name was Mahāratna Dharmarāja (大寶法王). He stayed in the Ling-kusse. He had miraculous powers called *rddhi* (神通). He taught the people to recite *om mani padme huṇ-* (Ch. *yang mo ni pa mi hung*). Then all those who believed in him began to recite it day and night. Then Li Ki-ting, a scholar of the Hanlin Academy said: "If he really possesses spiritual power, he ought to know the Chinese language. Why does he take the help of an interpreter to communicate? Besides what he says, the so called *om mani padme huṇ* simply means 'I have cheated you'—*Yang-pa-ni-hung* (一把你哄).¹³ People don't understand it."

painting, *kin* (錦) different kinds of coloured silk stuff and *ling* (綾) fine coloured silk stuffs with floral designs on it.

12 There is evidently some confusion in the account. The Buddhist monk mentioned here must have been a Tibetan Lama. We learn from Hou-hien's Biography in the *Ming-she* that before being sent to India Hou-hien had gone to Tibet on an imperial mission in the 2nd year yong-lo (1404). In fact he was sent several times to Tibet and Nepal between 1403 and 1413 (Rockhill—*T'oung Pao*, 1915, p. 84). The *Ming-she* (chapter on Western Countries) tells us in connection with Tibet that a Bhikṣu called Ho-li-ma (哈立麻) came to the court from Tibet in the beginning of the yong-lo period. He is said to have possessed many supernatural powers. Of the many titles conferred on him by the Emperor one was Ta-pao-fa-wang *Mahāratna-Dharmarāja*. This seems to be the translation of a Tibetan name like *Rin chen po chos rgyal ba*. Ho-li-ma must have come to China with Hou-hien and seems to be the same as mentioned here.

13 The commentator refers to a similar case recorded in the history of the Song dynasty. The Si-hia Emperor Yuan-ho (元昊) called himself

In the 6th year yong-lo (1408 A.D.) the king of the country (i.e. Bengal) sent an ambassador who landed at T'ai-ts'ang and brought tributes. The emperor ordered the minister of foreign affairs to go there and receive him.

In the 12th year yong-lo (1414) the king again sent his minister Pa-yi-^{ts}i with tribute of K'i-lin and other objects. The Minister of the Rites handed a memorial of congratulation to the Emperor. The Emperor said in reply: '(You only help me day and night in the administration of the affairs and the country is benefited by it. If the country is benefited it does not matter if there is K'i-lin or not. There is no need of congratulation.)' The Emperor presented to the king four pieces of *kin* (錦) and 60 pieces of *ling* (綾). The officers also were given presents befitting their ranks.

In the 13th year yong-lo (1415) the Emperor ordered the eunuch Hou-hien and others to carry his presents to the king, the queen and the ministers (of Bengal) in a ship accompanied by troops. When their king heard that our precious boat had reached their country, he sent the district officials with clothes and other presents with thousands of troops to welcome them. They landed at the harbour of Ch'a-ti (Catigaon). Starting from there they reached Suo-na-eul-kiang (Sonargaon) after 16 stations. There are city, tanks, streets and markets. All goods are collected there and distributed. (The king of Bengal) again sent men to carry presents with elephants and horses for the reception. After twenty stations they reached Pan-tu-wa (Pandua). It is the capital of the king. Both the city and its outskirts are all decorated. There are streets, markets and innumerable shops. Hundred kinds of goods are collected there. The palace of the king is made of bricks and limes. The building is high and broad. The roof of the palace is flat and polished in white. There are three inner gates and nine inner courtyards. The pillars are moulded in brass, with

Wu-tsu (兀卒) which sounds in Chinese like Wu-tsu (吾祖) "I am the grandfather."

decorations of flowers, beasts and animals. There are long verandahs on the right and the left. In the verandah there were thousands of armoured horsemen. Outside there were giant-like men in bright helmets and armours holding swords, bows and armours. They had an appearance of grandeur. To the right and the left of the platform there were hundreds of fans of peacock feathers. Again in the front of the courtyard there are rows of hundreds of elephants. The king was on a high seat, decorated with eight precious things, sitting cross-legged. His sword was placed on his lap. Then he ordered two men holding silver sticks and in turbans to show the way. While advancing they saluted at every fifth step. They stopped on reaching the middle. Then two men came with golden sticks and received them as before. The king saluted by placing hands on the forehead and received the mandate. It was opened, read and handed over to the king. The king received it. Then woolen carpets were spread on the courtyard where our ambassador and troops were entertained. It was very ceremonious. They offered roasted beef and mutton but there is prohibition of drinking wine as it changes our nature. They offered instead water mixed with rose juice and honey for drink. When the feast was over, helmets, belts, vases and golden pots were presented to the ambassador. The Vice-ambassador was presented with helmet, belt, vase and pot in silver. The officers of lower ranks were presented with golden bells and long gowns of *jen*, *chu* and *sse*. All the soldiers were given silver coins. The country is rich and generous. Then the king with his own hands put his letter written on golden leaf in a golden casket and sent an ambassador with products of the country as present to the emperor. Since then ambassadors came occasionally from that country.

The customs of this country are very generous. The men put on white turbans on the head, use white long gowns and wear boots of goat's leather with golden lace. They have much culture. This is why the people in their business, even when the price of a thing is very high, never fail to respect their agreement. They mint silver coins called *tangka*. Each coin

is 2.8 ounces (Chinese). It is the unit of money used in the country. The women put on short cloaks and scarfs of colour-ed cotton or silk with embroidery. They do not use any white cream but are naturally beautiful. They put on precious tiaras on the head, necklaces on the neck and dress their hairs in a knot behind. They use bangles on the wrists and ankles and rings on the fingers and toes.

The Hindus as a race do not eat beef and their men and women do not eat and drink in the same place. When the husband dies the wife does not marry and when the wife dies the husband does not marry. The orphans and widows who have none to support are fed by the houses of the village by turns and are not allowed to go to other villages to beg for food.

Their fields are very fertile and yield two crops in the year. There is no need of sowing the seeds (? irrigation)—the crops grow by themselves in the proper season. Both men and women are diligent in ploughing and weaving. They have melons, fruits, vegetables, cows, horses, cocks and hens, goats, goose, duck and sea-fishes. They use cowries in the market instead of coins. They have golden and silver goods, *tuan*, *ch'uan*, white porcelain with blue and white decoration, copper and iron, musk, vermillion, mercury, straw mat, etc. The mountain is called "Five-peak" (Pañca-śringa).

The products of the country are cotton cloths, sa-ha-lo (shawl), woolen carpets, tu-lo-kin, crystal, *candrakānta* (水晶), *musāragalva* (瑪瑙), *pravāla* (珊瑚), pearls precious stones, opaque glass, sugar, honey, ghee, and peacock's feather. They also produce handkerchiefs of different colours, blankets, jack-fruits of big size and good and sweet to the taste and mangoes of which the smell is sour but which is good (to the taste).

Their tribute consists of horses, saddles of gold, silver and other metals, vases of opaque glass, porcelain with blue and white decoration, shawl, the cloth *che-chu-hei-ta-li*, *sien-po pi-pu*, *tu-lo-kin*, crystallised sugar, buceros, unicorn's horn,

peacocks' feathers, parrots, frankincense, raw gharu wood, guggula, khadira, purple glue, dragon's blood, ebony, sapan and pepper.¹⁴

V

Ming she.

Bengal is the same as Shen-tu of the Han period. It is the same as T'ien-chu of the later Hans. In later periods Central India sent tributes to the Leang emperors and Southern India to the Wei. In the T'ang period the country was divided into five T'ien-chu, also called five Yin-tu. Bengal is Eastern India. From Sumatra with a favourable wind one can reach there in 20 days.

In the 6th year yong-lo (1408) the king of Bengal (Ghiyās-ud-din) sent an ambassador to China with tributes. China also gave many presents in return. In the 7th year yong-lo (1409) their ambassador came again with 230 officers. The Emperor had just initiated a policy of communicating with foreign countries. So he sent many presents to Bengal. Since then they came every year. In the 10th year yong-lo (1412) just before the arrival of their ambassador to China the Emperor sent ministers to Chen-kiang to arrange for their reception. When arrangements had been made the ambassador arrived with the news of the death of their king. Officials were then sent to attend the mourning ceremony of the dead king and the coronation ceremony of the Prince Sai-wu-ting (賽勿丁) In the 12th year yong-lo (1414) the new king sent ambassador with mandate to offer thanks and presents of a ki-lin, famous horses and products of Bengal. The officials proposed to congratulate the Emperor (on this occasion) but the latter rejected it. Next year (1415) Hou-hien was sent to that country with

¹⁴ The Si-yu-lun (西域論) which is a sort of commentary on *Shu yu chou tseu lu* inserts an independent account of Bengal but it has nothing new. It is only a summary of the previous account.

presents to the king, the queen, and the ministers. In the 3rd year che-t'ong (1438) they sent a ki-lin as present. All officials congratulated the Emperor on this occasion. The next year (1439) tributes again came from that country. Since then relations with that country ceased.¹⁵

P. C. BAGCHI

15 The rest of the *Ming-she* is the same as the previous accounts.

The Arthapada-Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha*

First Book (Fascicule)

Translated by the Upāsaka Che-Kien¹ [of Yue-che country] under the
Wu Dynasty (222-280 A.D.)

I

The First Sūtra of Kie-t'an (Super-Greedy)²

[T.174^b-175^o; Sh.56^a-57^a; Su.54^b-56^a; B.i.1^a-6^a]

[1] Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was living in the town† of Srāvasti at Jetavana in the pleasure-garden of Anātha-

* Arthapada-sūtra (義足經) — See Nanjio, No. 674; Hobo-girin No. 198; for the Chinese text, see (i) Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripitaka, vol. iv, pp. 174-189, No. 198; referred to here-after as T., (ii) Shanghai edition, XIV, 5, 56a-68b; referred to here-after as Sh; (iii) Photographic reproduction of what is popularly called Sung edition, vol. 288, pp. 54b-75b; referred to hereafter as Su; (iv) Popular edition believed to be from Nanking, though there is nothing in the text to indicate its source of publication (Block print in bold letters); referred to hereafter as B. These are the four copies that have been consulted while preparing this translation.

For reference to Arthavargiya sūtras in Buddhist Literature, see JA. 1915 (Mai-June), pp. 402-424; 'Sur la récitation primitive des Textes Bouddhiques' by Sylvain Lévi. Note his discussion (p. 413) on the title 'Aṭṭhaka,' where he suggests that the title Aṭṭha may be taken as the Pali equivalent of 'Artha,' which is confirmed by the Chinese Translator's Yi-tsiu (義足) as well as by the Tibetan translation of Divy. (pp. 20,35 of the Sans. text), which gives 'don-kyi-choms-kyi-mdö.'

For Arthavargiya and Pārāyaṇa in the Chinese Tripitaka, see M. Anesaki in JPTS 1906-07, p. 50ff; le Museon, N. S. vii, 1906, p. 33ff. and Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan XXXV, 1908, part 3, p. 8ff. Also see traces of Pali Texts in a Mahāyāna treatise, by M. Anesaki, reprinted in 'Katam 'Karanīyam' (Memorial volume presented to Mr. Anesaki by his students), pp. 289-304.

For Fragments in Sanskrit of Arthavargiya sūtras, see Hoernle, JRAS. 1916, pp. 709-732; 1917, p. 134.

1 For the life-account of the Translator, Che-kien (支謙), see Nanjio, App. ii.18, p. 388. According to Dr. Bagchi (vol. i. p. 283), Yue-che (月支) means Indo-Sythia, for which also see JA, 1897, pp. 5-42: 'Notes Sur Les Indo-Scythes by Sylvain Lévi; also 'Les Indo-Seythes' by M. Edouard Specht in JA. 1897, pp. 152-193.

2 For an identical introductory story, see SnCm. ii. 511ff.; Kāma-Jātaka (Jā. iv. 167-68; also see Kāmanita-Jātaka (No. 228), Jā. ii. 212ff. Also cf. DhpCm. iii. 284-85 (on Dhp. 216).

† The original Chinese word kuo (國) means a country, but

pindada. At that time there was a Brahman who had in Jetavana a large rice-field, that was already ripe. At any moment (lit. morning and evening), it was ready to be reaped. The Brahman got up one morning, went up to the field and had a look far away at the ears of the paddy. He was delighted at heart. He said to himself that he had his wish fulfilled. He looked at the corn, was much enamoured of it and would not leave [the sight of] it. The Buddha, at that time, followed by the mendicants, entered the town and begged alms. He saw from a distance that the Brahman was thus happy. Then he said to the medicants "Do you see this Brahman?" All of them said in reply "Yes." The Buddha silently entered the town. After eating food, every one returned to the pleasure-garden. The same night it rained heavily and there was a great [shower of] hail.³ All the crop in the field was destroyed. The Brahman had a daughter, who also died that night. Because of this, the Brahman was sad, perturbed, annoyed and grieved. He began to cry and nobody could stop him.

[2] Next day the Assembly of the mendicants took their begging bowls, entered the city and begged alms. They then heard that such and such a calamity had fallen upon the Brahman, who cried and was very sad. No *śramaṇa* or Brahman could deliver him from sorrow. The mendicants finished the eating of food and came back to the place where the Buddha stayed. They paid their homage to the Buddha, and explained to Him the mental condition [as explained above] of the Brahman. Immediately after their speech, the Brahman came crying to the place where the Buddha was. He inquired of the health of the Buddha and sat by his side. The Buddha knew his sorrowful thoughts and then said to him: "There are five things in this world, which

evidently here and in the following sūtras, it must be taken as an equivalent of a 'town' or 'city,' in which sense this word is often found to be used in Buddhist sūtras.

³ Pali—*Sabbarattim karakavassan vassi.* Jā. iv. 167.

cannot be avoided and from which there is no escape." "Which are those five things?" "(i) There are things which must wane or diminish. Even if one wishes that they may not diminish, it is impossible. (ii) There are things which must come to ruin. Even if one wishes that they may not be ruined, it is impossible. (iii) There are things which must be diseased. Even if one wishes that they may not be diseased, it is impossible. (iv) There are things which must grow old. Even if one wishes that they may not grow old, it is impossible. (v) There are things which must perish. Even if one wishes that they may not perish, it is impossible." An ordinary man who knows no Path and has no wisdom sees things waning, coming to ruin, getting diseased, growing old, and perishing. Then follows suffering, tribulation, grief, lamentation, beating of the chest with hot breath, and tormentation, with no avail. Why should it be so? Because, he sits without hearing and knowing the Truth.

[3] Thus, O Brahman, I hear that he who has grasped the Truth does not become sorrowful, even when he sees things waning, coming to ruin, getting diseased, growing old and perishing. Why should it be so? Because, he has already heard and known the truth that [such bewailing] is harmful not only to his family, but to the whole world. The world is born along with this waning of things. How can I alone be free from it? The wise man thinks over the truth thus: 'I am already suffering, causing grief to myself. I am feeble. I do not eat anything. My face and eyes have lost their lustrous appearance. Over me the enemy is delighted. Kind people share my sorrow, share the grief and misfortune of my family, and wish that such a calamity may not occur again.' Thus when he has seen the

4 "Pañc' imāni, Bhikkhave, alabbhāniyāni thānāni. Katamāni pañca? Jarāddhammām mā jīri ti alabbhāniyām thānām...vyādhidhammām mā vyādhiyī ti..., marañadhammām mā mīyī ti..., khayadhammām mā khīyī ti...nassanadhammām mā nassī ti alabbhāniyām thānām. (A. iii. 54, 60):

truth, that things must wane, must come to ruin, must get diseased, must grow old and must perish, he would never be grieved. On this account the Buddha said to the Brahman the following stanzas (*gāthā*):

(1) Because of sorrow and grief, there should be no piteous lament

Over things, small or great, that have been [already] lost.
Of no avail are the sorrow and grief, that merely gladden

The enemy's heart, and do make him rejoice.

[See A. iii. 56, 62]

(2) The man of faith, who has wisdom and Truths [realised],
Has no sorrow, old age, disease, nor death or dissolution.
Happiness doth one crave, but tribulations doth one create;

A flower doth one see, and its colour doth he admire.

(3) The colour is so momentary, that even a stroke
or a bird's flight cannot compete;
The precious things should one seek, knowing that
they will not die.

Knowing the passing away [of things], the sorrowful
things he doth not pursue,
But mindfulness doth he practise, and the transcendent
Treasure doth he gain.

(4) Truly doth he know that they do not deserve
to be pursued——

These men of the world who, like you and me,
are all alike;

From sorrow and grief, he studiously doth keep
himself off,

[For], of what avail can all this, of the world, be?
[Cf. A. iii. 56, 62]

[4] Further the Buddha spoke to the Brahman on several *sūtra-dharmas*, such as talk on charities,⁵ good conduct, heavens,

5 Pali—*Dānakathā*, *sīlakathā*, *saggakathā*, *kāmānam ādinavo*, *okāro*, *sāṅkileso*. (D. i. 110, 118; D. ii. 48, 44). The same or similar expressions are also found in later chapters (X. 4, XIV, XV).

advantages and disadvantages and lack of solidity of worldly pleasures. When the Buddha came to know that his mind had become soft and inclined [towards Him], He made him see the Four Truths. The Brahman's mind understood them. Then he attained the First Path—*Śrotāpatti-mārga*; just as a clean piece of silk cloth⁶ well receives the dye at once. Then he got up and with his head and face touched the feet of the Buddha. Holding his hands folded, he said: "Now I see the Truths, just as one takes a mirror to find oneself in it." Henceforward, I take refuge in the Buddha, His Law, and His Order. Receive me as a pure, faithful disciple, so that I may observe the five rules of conduct. As long as life and body exist, I shall live here, without violating rules of purity." Then he got up, went round the Buddha three times and went away. Then the Order of the mendicants said to the Buddha: "Well-delivered and washed is the mind of this Brahman! Just for this he came. He has now become happy and delighted and gone away!"

[5] The Buddha said to the mendicants: "Not only now, but also in long long past, did I relieve the Brahman from sorrow. In the land of Jambudvīpa, there were five kings. One of them was called by the name, Kie-t'an (傑貪, Super-Greedy).⁷ He did not rule his country rightly. The great ministers and

6 Pali—*Suddham vattham apagata-kālakam sammadeva rajañam patigārheyya.* (D. i.110, 148; ii. 43, 44).

7. Pali—*Seyyathā pi—itthi vā puriso vā daharo yuvā mandanajātiko adāse vā parisuddhe pariyodāte, acche vā udapatte sakam mukhanimittam paccavekkhamāno.* (D. i. 80; S. iii. 105).

8 For a similar story, see *Mandhātu-Jātaka* (Jā. ii. 310-14, No. 258), where *Mandhātā* is shown going to the heaven of *Trayastrīmśat* (Pali *Tāvatimśa*, Thirty-three) gods and sharing half of the kingdom of *Sakra*, and still remaining unsatisfied, though he lived for a period equal to the lives of thirty-six *Sakras*. He thought of even killing *Sakra* and seizing his kingdom. Also see the story of *Māndhātā* in *Divy.* chapter xvii, pp. 210-226, which is a still more miraculous narration of the same story.

the common people were all disgusted with his actions. Then the people began to hold consultations in groups: 'Every family from amongst us shall give one soldier.' When the [soldiers] were thus selected, they all went before the king and said to him: 'Do you know that you do not behave properly? [Your] greed does harm to thousands of families. Won't you quickly go out of the country? If you won't, we will assail you.' When the king heard this, he was greatly astonished and he began to tremble. The hair on his body (lit. hairy covering) stood erect.* In his chariot he went out of the country. Being now poor and humble, he began to weave grass [into mats], and supported himself by selling them.

[6] The great ministers and the common people selected his younger brother and honoured him by making him the King. He then ruled rightly and did no wrong to his subjects (lit. ten thousand families). Thereupon, the king Kie-t'an heard that his younger brother would become the King. He then became glad at heart. He thought to himself: "It is possible to beg of my brother something with which I can support myself." Then he wrote a letter in which he explained himself. Then he begged of him one village, so that he could maintain himself. The king, out of pity for him and for his humble condition, gave him one village, which, when got, he subsequently ruled well. Further, he begged of him two villages, four, five upto ten; twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, upto one hundred villages; two hundred upto five hundred villages. Then again, he begged of the king half of the country. The king then gave it. He then ruled it well. Thus he [carried on] for a very long time. Kie-t'an had this thought: "I should marshall the forces of half of the country." He attacked the country of his younger brother successfully, and got, later, his old country back. Further, he thought: "Why should I not marshall the forces of the whole country and attack the [other] two, three, four countries?"

* See Chapter X, para 7, note 9.

Then he went and successfully attacked all [the countries]. Further, he ruled the countries well. He, further, thought: "Why should I not marshall the forces of all the four countries and attack the fifth?" He then went, attacked it and got success.

[7] Thus, now, all the land and earth was exhausted. The four oceans and all within belonged to the king. Then he changed his title and established [a new one] as the 'Great Victorious King'. God, Tiṣya (i. e. Indra) wanted to test him and know whether he had, or not, obtained contentment [so as to say: 'Enough']. Then he assumed the guise of a young Brahman of the family of Kiu-yi (拘夷) Kauśika, P. Kosiya⁹. He desired to see the King. With hair loosened [on the back] and taking a golden staff and a golden jar, he stood at the palace-gate. The door-keeper said to the King: "Outside, there is a Brahman of Kiu-yi family, who desired to see Your Majesty". The King said "Very well!" He invited him to [come] and sit before him. After having finished the mutual greetings, he said to the King: "We have come from the sea-shore. We see a country happy and flourishing. The people are prosperous and several people possess a precious treasure. It is fit to be invaded." The King reflected and wished further to get a kingdom. The King said: "I should very much like to get it." The King of the gods said: "You can keep many ships ready with forces marshalled. Keep waiting. After seven days, we shall take Your Majesty to go there." Having said this, the King of the gods disappeared.

[8] When the [eighth] day came, the King marshalled his

⁹ Kiu-yi—Pali Kosiya or Sanskrit 'Kauśika' seems to be meant here. In the Chinese version of the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, we find Kiu-yi ch'eng (拘夷 city) used for Kuśinagara, Pali Kusinārā. See Dirghāgama (bold-letter block print, Suchow edition, 1887) 2.9a.8; 3.9b.2. The first of these characters is pronounced exactly as the first of the characters in the name as given in the text above. Kauśika is found as a gotra name. See Sālikedārajātaka (No. 484) Jā. iv. 276, 280. Also see Brh. Upa. 2.6.1; 6.5.1.

forces in several well-equipped ships, but did not see the Brahman coming. At this time the King became very sad and grieved. He was unhappy. He was beating his chest and said thus: "Alas! I must now destroy the Great Country. Kiu-yi was not properly seized before. When the date came, he is not to be seen!" At that time, the people of the whole country sat turning their faces toward the King. The King cried; all cried. When the King was grieved, all of them were grieved. When the King was in sorrow, it never stopped. [But, when he heard the *sūtras* and *gāthās*, he thus thought and said:

(5) One's brooding doth one increase and his cravings
doth he pursue,
Having already attained things, he further craves
after them;
Every day doth he increase [his longing], and ever
doth he rejoice,
When he has attained the possession [lit. mastery]
of things [he wanted].

[9] The King then turned to the people assembled and said in connection with the idea of the *gāthā* on 'craving': 'If there be anybody that would explain the idea of the *gāthā*, he would be rewarded a thousand gold coins.' There sat in the assembly a young boy named Yu-to (彌多)¹⁰ who then said to the King: 'I am able to explain the meaning of this. Allow me seven days, at the end of which [period], I shall come and give the answer.' The seventh day came and he said to his mother: 'I must go to the King's place and deliver him from sorrow.' The mother said to the son: [My dear!], do not go. To do a difficult job for the King Emperor is like kindling fire. His instruction is like a sharp knife difficult to be approached.' The son said: 'Mother, you need not be sorry. My ability can get at the meaning of the King's

10 Yu-to—This seems to be an equivalent of *Uttara* which is a very common name. *Vaddhaki-sūkara-jātaka* (No. 283) *Jā.* ii. 403, also mentions *Utto*.

gāthā, and would thus secure the sumptuous (lit. heavy) reward, by means of which it would be possible for [our people] to enjoy themselves."

[10] Then he approached the King and said: "I have now come to give the answer about the meaning of the *gāthā*." Then he recited the *gāthās*:

(6) "One's brooding doth one increase, and his longings doth he pursue,
Having already attained things, he further craves after them;
Having allowed freedom [to his desires], he cannot control them,
Like a thirsty man who intends to allay his thirst by drinking a hot soup.

(7) Even if this whole universe
Were to be full of horses, gold, and silver,
And even if one attains this all, one devises,
Without satiation, a plan for a better life.

(8) As antlers and nails grow [unwittingly],
And increase and enlarge from day to day;
Just so is it in the life of human beings;
They know not how their desires increase.

(9) Hunger and thirst know no end;
From day to day do they persist.
If there be a mountain of gold, lending
Support, like Mount Sumeru, to the heavens—

(10) And even if one were to get this all,
One wisely devises, without satiation, a plan for better life.

Because of desires, he comes to experience,
In regions of darkness, pain never heard of.

(11) If one wishes to listen [to the advice], from desires
One should be far and with them wisely get satiated;

[11] (14) "Very good! Young Boy!
Giving [due] weight to the experience of the world:
That deeply painful are the objects of desire,
Wise men [do ever] their course of action plan.

(15) Eight stanzas [*gāthās*] you have said;
For each, a thousand coins do I offer,
The [title] *Bhadanta* (大德) do I confer
On you, that spoke with such sympathy deep."

Yu-to replied in *gāthās*:

(16) “Of no avail is this treasure [to me],
As I can maintain myself.
The last *gāthā* do I [now] say,
As my mind from the pleasures of senses
wanders away,

(17) My mother, O Great King, is
In body feeble and in years old;
I wish my mother to be rewarded,
Give her a thousand coins of gold,
That will enable her herself to sustain."

The Great Victorious King gave him a thousand gold coins, which enabled him to support his old mother.

[12] The Buddha said to the mendicants: "The Victorious King of that time is the Brahman that sowed the corn [in this story]. This young Yu-to is the same as myself. [Thus] at that time, also, I delivered the Brahman from grief and sorrow. Now, also, I deliver the Brahman completely from his grief and sorrow, which being exhausted, he may not be over-powered again by any suffering." The Buddha explained the meaning of this chapter along with this past relation, in order that his later disciples might say that he uttered these stanzas to enlighten the succeeding generations. To enable his doctrine to last long, he also said this *Arthapada-sūtra* :—

(18) One's brooding doth one increase, and his cravings
doth he pursue,
Having already obtained things, he further craves
after them;
Every day doth he increase [his longing] and ever
doth he rejoice,
When he has obtained the possession of things
[he wanted]. 1 (Sn. 766)

(19) The worldly desires who-so-ever covets,
And sits tight over them—that stupid fool,
In his very desires, he gets wrecked and ruined,
As when, with a poisonous dart, his body gets
pierced. 2 (Sn. 767)

[अट्टकवग्गो*]

I

[कामसुच्तं]

766 कामं कामयमानस्स तस्स चे तं समिज्जति ।
अद्वा पीतिमनो होति लद्वा मद्वो यदिच्छति ॥१॥

767 तस्स चे कामयमानस्स¹ छन्दजातस्स जन्तुनो ।
ते कामा परिहायन्ति सल्लविद्वो'व रूप्तति ॥२॥

1 रो०, नि० -कामयानस्स

* The whole of this अट्टकवग्ग, “which is the fourth vaggā of Suttanipāta, resembles Chinese Arthapada, Nanjo No. 674. [Anesaki, A. A. O. 12.] For the Pali Text, see Suttanipāta Devanāgarī edition of the present author as well as of the PTS.; also see Mahāniddesa of PTS; also see the text and translation in Harvard Oriental Series, No. 37.

766-767 Cf. मुराडकोपनिषद् ३.१.१०, ३.२.२.

यं यं लोकं मनसा संविभाति विशुद्धसत्त्वः कामयते योश्च कामान् ।
तं तं लोकं जयते तांश्च कामां- स्तस्मादात्मज्ञं अर्चयेद्दूदतिकामः ॥
* * * * * ३.१.१०
कामान् यः कामयते मन्यमानः स कामभि जायते तत्र तत्र ।
पर्याप्ताकामस्य कृतात्मनस्त्विवैव सर्वे प्रविलीयन्ति कामाः ॥ ३.२.२

Saṅkar in his Cm. on बृ उ० ४. ४. ६ says—

तथा चोक्तमाथर्वणे कामान् यः कामयते—etc.

† =अर्थपद् १ and also in Yogācārya, Nanjo No. 1170.

766-771=Netti 5-6, Nm I.1-22; J. IV. 172. 766-68 also Netti 69. 766^a+^b=J 467^{2a}+^b. Vis. XVII. 276; J. 476.

767 cf. न्यायानुसार, Nanjo 1265.

cf. Mbh. XIII.93⁴⁷. (Cal. 4443.)

कामं कामयमानस्य यदा कामः समृद्धते ।

अद्वा cf. Mbh. 4443^० अथ, Netti सदा ।

767 Netti, 6. 69, Vis. XVII. 276 all have कामयानस्स । Abhk. & Sphuṭārthā. (on kārikā 12) also read so. But Chin. supports कामयमानस्स ।

(20) From desires he keeps himself far,
 As from treading upon a serpent's head.
 The pleasures of the world he gets all over,
 And by practising concentration, a trance doth he
 attain. 3 (Sn. 768, c-d diff.)

(21) In fields and grains and treasures precious,
 cows, horses,
 [Servants] that depend upon him, relations and
 pleasures,
 He gets engrossed—that stupid fool,
 Who thus inflicts injury upon his own self. 4 (Sn. 769)

(22) Though powerless, him [surely] do overpower
 These enemies, that score victory over him.
 To darkness is he consigned and sufferings
 doth he experience,
 Like a boat, that is wrecked in the midst of the
 sea. 5 (Sn. 770)

(23) Therefore, one's mind must one restrain,¹¹
 And from desires and violations keep aloof ;
 With exertions, he must seek the yonder shore
 And row the boat on to that which is safe. 6 (Sn. 771)

The Buddha said this Arthapada-sūtra and the mendicants
 expressed their joy and delight.

11 The lines from here are treated as prose in Su and B.

‘ 768 यो कामे परिवज्जेति॑ सप्तस्सेव पदा सिरो ।
 सो इमं॑ विसत्तिकं लोके सतो समतिवत्तति ॥३॥

769 खेतं वत्थुं हिरञ्जं वा गवास्सं॑ दासपोरिसं॑ ।
 यियो॑ बन्धु पुथू कामे यो नरो अनुगिज्ञति ॥४॥

770 अबला॑ नं बलीयन्ति महन्ते नं परिस्सया ।
 ततो नं दुःखमन्वेति नावं भिन्नमिवोदकं ॥५॥

771 तस्मा जन्तु सदा सतो कामानि परिवज्जये ।
 ते पहाय तरे ओघं नावं सिञ्चित्वं॑ पारण् ॥६॥

कामसुतं निहितं ।

— — —

1 म०, नि०-सो॑इ०, 2 म०-गवस्सं. 3 म०-दासपरिसं, 4 म०-सिरो.
 5 रो०-अबला॑व. 6 म०- सिञ्चित्वा, म०, नि०-सित्वा॑व,

768 cf. Thag, 457. यो वेता परिवज्जेति...सिरो...।

769^a +^b cf. J. 480^{००} +^४. 769^b. J. 467^{४०}. 769^d. cf. A. V. 174.5 cf. J. 367^{२१३}.

770^० Dhp. 1. 2=Netti 129^{२०}=Udv. XXXI^{२३०}. ततस्ते दुःखमन्वेति ।

771 cf. Dhp. 369.

II

Second Sutra of King Udayana¹[T.175^a-176^b; Sh. 57^a-57^b; Su.56^a-57^a; B.i.6^a-7^b]

[1] Thus have I heard. The Buddha was living in the town of Śrāvasti at Jetavana in the pleasure-resort of Anātha-piṇḍada. There was at that time a Bhikṣu living in the country of Kauśāmbī in a mountain-cavern. He had a long hair, beard, and nails (lit. claws) and wore a tattered piece of cloth. At that time, King Udayana desired to go out for a tour, see and visit the mountain *Ngo-ki* (我迹 Uśira ?).² The attendants then ordered the preparations of the roads and bridges and returned to the king saying "The road has been prepared and His Majesty may start at his pleasure."

[2] The King, however, was attended upon by the beautiful ladies of his harem. Riding the chariot, they reached the mountain *Ngo-ki*. Getting down the chariot, they walked on foot. One young lady [among them] walked in the mountain, from peak to peak. She looked [around] and noticed a mud-house in a rocky place, where there was a *Bhikṣu* with long loose hair, beard, and nails (lit. claws), his clothes being tattered. In appearance, he seemed to be like a ghost. Then she shouted to the king: "Here is a goblin, here is a goblin!". The King then from far away enquired: "Where is he?" The beautiful lady said: "Near the rocks, in a mud-house." The king then took out his sword and followed her. He saw the *Bhikṣu*

1 SnCm. p. 514 also refers to King Udena. But the stories differ considerably in details.

2 *Ngo-ki*—This seems to me to be the Chinese equivalent of Uśira-giri, the Chinese characters standing for Uśira. Mvy, 4109, however, gives quite other characters for the same. This translation is a very early one. It is found that it very rarely agrees with the Mvy. Divy. 22 mentions this mountain (*Uttarena Uśiragiri*). In Pali texts, Usiraddhaja is mentioned as the northern boundary of Majjhimadesa (Vin. i. I97; DCm. i. 173; Pj. i. 133; Jā. i. 49 etc.). Also see B.C. Law's 'Tribes in Ancient India,' pp. 69-70; Watters, i. 308 gives Uśira or Sira to be near Mathurā.

described above and enquired of him: "What sort of man are you?" He replied "I am a *śramaṇa*."³ The King asked "What sort of a *śramaṇa* are you?" He answered "*Sākyā śramaṇa*." The King said "Are you an *Arhat*?" "No," replied he. "I hope⁴ you have attained four trances?" "No," again he replied. "Three, two?" Again he replied "No." "Have you attained at least the first trance?" He answered: "To speak the truth, the first trance is practised."⁵ The King became so angry, that he could not be pacified. "How could this *śramaṇa*, apparently an ordinary man, without virtue, but with lust, dare to look at beautiful ladies?" He ordered his servants to let the string-eating worms⁶ bite at his body. The servants went away [to do as per king's direction]. The Spirit (*devatā*) of the mountain thought: "This *bhikṣu* is innocent. He will be frightened to death. I must protect him and make him free from danger." Thereupon the mountain-deity transformed herself into a big boar, who slowly went towards the King. The attendants then said to him "A big boar is coming towards the Kingly [Majesty]." The King then gave up the mendicant, took his sword and ran after the boar. The mendicant saw⁷ that the king had gone far away. He then came out quickly and reached Anātha-piṇḍada's pleasure-resort in Jetavana in Śrāvasti. He told the *Bhikṣus* the whole account from the beginning to the end. The *Bhikṣus* told the same to the Buddha.

3 Cf. a similar account of Udena's encounter, in Udaikavana in Kauśambi, with Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja who had to run away, when threatened to be bitten by red ants. (See SnCm. pp. 514-15). In Cullavagga of the Vinayapitaka (ii. 290-92, Chap. XI, 12-14), King Udena is represented as first being worried over the news that the ladies of his harem had given Ānanda 500 hundred sheets of cloth, but later when he himself visited Ānanda and had a talk with him over the matter, he was satisfied that there was no likelihood of Ānanda's misusing the gift.

4 Ning (寧) is used here for a question or *kaccit* (Pali *kacca*). See later chapter XIII, verses corresponding to Sn. 154, 156, 158 etc.

5 Cf. SnCm. p. 515—*Tamba-kiplillikehi tam khādāpessāmī ti.*

[3] The Buddha thinking that this incident had some causal relation with something significant in the past life [of the mendicant], let the mendicants know the *sūtra-mārga*, which he uttered to enlighten succeeding generations. Also that the Path preached by him in the Sūtras may last long, the Buddha, at that time, uttered this *Arthapada-sūtra*:

(1) To his house being bound, many things he craves* for,
In delusion is he merged, and in wrong course
stands firm.

By delusion overcome, from the right path⁶ he strays;
Thoughts of craving are hard to be tenderly
treated.⁷ (Sn. 772)

(2) To this life and birth attached, doth he sit,
And those that are firmly bound to worldly things,
he hardly can release;⁸
Things of the past or future, he never doth glance,⁹
But to the present is kindly disposed as sure as [ever]¹⁰
before. (Sn. 773)

(3) Excessively greedy, as by delusion is he blinded;
Not knowing that wrong things are accumulating
to his credit;
Though suffering, with this longing doth he sit—
“From here, what [place] shall I go to¹¹? ” (Sn. 774)

(4) A man that is born¹² should know this:
“The world that is amiss is hard to lean on;
Leaving the right, no thoughts of attachments I
should cherish;
Short is my life and Death very near.” (Sn. 775)

* This supports the Pali reading *bahunābhichando*. But see Nid¹ (p. 24) which accepts *bahunā-bhichanno* and explains it as *bahukehi kilesehi channo, rāgena channo, dosena channo*, etc.

6 Pali has *vivekā*.

7 T and Sh. read 慧; B and Su read 惠 8 B and Su—難解.

9 This is perhaps due to the misunderstanding of the original. Pali *apekkhamānā* is equal to *apa+ikkhamānā*, and not *a+pekkhamānā* as the Chinese rendering seems to take 不觀. See Nid.¹ i. 33.

10 慧 (vl. 慧) 是亦斷本 is not quite clear.

11 Lit. 'stick to' (依).

12 人生 Pali *jantu*

II

[गुहटकसुत्त*]

772 सत्तो गुहायं बहुनाभिछ्नो¹ । तिद्वं नरो मोहनस्मि पगाळ्हो ।
दूरे विवेका हि तथाविधो सो । कामा हि लोके न हि सुप्पहाया ॥१॥

773 इच्छानिदाना भवसातबद्धा । ते दुप्पमुञ्चा न हि अञ्जमोक्खा ।
पच्छा पुरे वाऽपि अपेक्खमाना² । इमेच कामे पुरिमेच जप्पय³ ॥२॥

774 कामेसु गिद्धा पसुता पमूळहा । अवदानिया⁴ ते विसमे निविद्वा⁵ ।
दुक्खवूपनीता परिदेवयन्ति । किं सु भविस्साम इतो चुतासे ॥३॥

775 तस्मा हि सिक्खेथ इधेव जन्तु । यं किञ्चि जञ्चा विसमंति लोके ।
न तस्स हेतु विसमं चरेय्य । अप्पं हि'दं⁶ जीवितमाहु धीरा ॥४॥

* =अर्थपद २.

1 म०-°छन्दो, also Chin.

2 सी०-अपेक्ख°.

3 म०-पजप्पं, omitting व.

4 म०-अप°.

5 म०-°बत्था, °वित्था.

6 सी०-हि तं, म०-हेतं.

772^a=T. Ud. I²⁶

775^o=J. 527⁵⁴⁰

775^a M. 82¹³⁰. Thag. 782^o (हि नं) cf. S. N. 804^a.

(5) Widely unfolded is the suffering in this world—
 Life and Death and this flood of craving.
 Till the time of death, over hatred doth one brood,
 Because of craving for this world, that is widely
 spurned. (Sn. 776 S. D.)

(6) "Amongst one's belongings, with pain doth one throb,
 Like fish in scanty water from which stream is cut off;"
 With an insight [into this truth], one's belongings
 doth one cut off;
 How will he then aspire after the three realms¹³? (Sn. 777)

(7) Having removed¹⁴ the longing for both the extremes,
 With no attachment, full comprehension doth he possess;
 Never doth he practise what he himself doth condemn.
 In what he sees and hears, he never gets soiled. (Sn. 778)

(8) Understanding perceptions, of crossing the flood
 doth he think,
 In personal belongings, the Honoured One doth
 never get mixed up;
 With vigour, he takes out [the dart] that lies within.¹⁵
 Thus doth he shape himself, until no doubt is left
 in him.¹⁶ (Sn. 779, d-diff.)

The Buddha said this *Arthāpada-Sūtra* and the mendicants expressed their joy and delight.

13 Realms of Desire, Form and the Formless (*kāmabhava*, *rūpabhava*, *arūpabhava*).

14 All the four texts read *li* 力, but we think it is obviously a mistake for another character with a similar pronunciation, namely 離 which agrees with Pali *vineyya*.

The 'extremes' referred to in this line are *phassa* and *phassa-samudaya* etc. as explained in SnCm. 517, and Mahāniddesa i. 52, but we think they may as well be the two extremes of the heresies of eternity and of annihilation (*sassata-ditthi*, *ucchheda-ditthi*). Cf. Gilgit MSS. vol. ii.—

[*Astīti*] *nāstī ti ubho'pi antā* [*suddhi*]-*asuddhi* *ti ime'pi anta*
tasmā dubhe anta vivarjayitvā maddhye'pi sthānam na karoti
pañḍitah. (*Samādhīrāja-sūtra*, 9. 27)

15 We have a very interesting expression in Chinese for the word *salla* in the expression *abbūlhasallo*, *Pa-wei-ch'u* (拔未出) i.e. pulling out that which has not come out, i.e. pulling out that which still lies within, i.e. the dart that pricks within.

16 Chē-she-nai-wu-yi (致使乃無疑)

776 पस्सामि लोके परिफन्दमानं । पजं इमं तण्हागतं¹ भवेत्सु ।
हीना नरा मच्चुमुखे लपन्ति । अवीततण्हासे² भवाभवेत्सु ॥५॥

777 ममायिते पस्सथ फन्दमाने । मच्छेव अप्पोदके खोणसोते ।
एतंडपि दिख्वा³ अममो चरेय्य । भवेत्सु आसच्चिमकुब्बमानो ॥६॥

778 उभोत्सु अन्तेत्सु धिनेय्य छन्दं । फस्सं परिज्ञाय⁴ अनानुगिज्ञो ।
यदक्षगरही तदकुब्बमानो । न लिप्पती⁵ दिड्सुतेत्सु धीरो ॥७॥

779 सज्जं परिज्ञा वितरेय्य ओघं । परिग्गहेत्सु मुनि नोपलित्तो ।
अब्बूळ्हसल्लो चरमप्पमत्तो । नासिंसती⁶ लोकमिमं परं च ॥८॥

गुद्धकसुत्तं निद्वितं ।

—————

1 सी०-तण्हरत.

2 सी०, म०-०सो.

3 म०-दिख्वान.

4 म०-परिज्ञा.

5 सी०-लिप्पति.

6 सी०, म०-०ति.

776^a=901^a. 777^a+^b cf. 936^a+^b. फन्दमानं पजं दिख्वा मच्छे अप्पोदके यथा.
777^b. cf. Thag. 362^a. DhP, XV. ४९^a J. 538¹⁰¹⁰. Dutr. c^०. ६^०.
अप्पोदके व मत्थान; Mbh XII. 175^{12a} (Cal. 65^{33c}). 277¹¹⁰. गाधोदके मत्थ्य इव.
778 cf. 913; See Gilgit Manuscripts, vol. ii. समाधिराजसूत्र ६. २७.

778^a cf. 250^a.

779^a=S, II, 3. 6. 10⁴⁴. (I. 62.)=A, IV. 45, 4⁴⁴ (II. 49.)=IV. 46²⁴
(II. 50)=V. M. VII. 36. Smp. I. 54²⁴.

III

The Third Sūtra about Su-t'o-li (Sundari)¹[T.176^b-177^c; Sh.57^b-58^b; Su.57^a-58^b; B.i.7^b-12^b]

[1] Thus have I heard. The Buddha was living at Srāvasti in Anāthapiṇḍada's pleasure resort, in Jetavana. He was respected by the King of the country, great ministers and noble families. In this matter nobody was lethargic (懈). Rice, clothes and coverings, sleeping cots, medical requisites were all available.

[2] At that time the Brahmans had assembled in their Discussion-hall (*P. sañthāgāra*)* and were discussing thus: "Formerly we were respected by the King of the country, great ministers, noble families and common people. Now they have given it up and do not do it. They have all now turned to and respect Sramana Gautama and his disciples. Now we must devise some means to foil this attempt." Then they said: "We must now, however, search, from amongst our circle, a very beautiful and graceful young lady, kill her, bury her dead body in Jetavana and accuse Sramana Gautama and his disciples [of the same], and thus cause an evil name to be spread amongst and heard by [all people]. Thus their entertainers would be alienated from them, and would no longer honour them. His disciples would not get anything to eat. All of them would honour us. We shall then become world-honoured, ruin him and no other thing in the world will over-power us."

1 For the story, see *Ud. iv. 8* (pp. 43-45); *Jā.* (No. 285) ii. 415-17; See also *SnCm.* 518-20 for a brief mention of the occasion of the story; also see *DhpCm.* iii. 477ff.; *Burlingame* 30.189 (on *Dhp.*, 306). For Ciñcā and Sundari, see *Feer, JA.* 1897, pp. 288-317. *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* (edited in Nāgarī characters by Dr. N. Dutt) reads for Ciñcā, Cañcā and gives the story in brief (pp. 161-162).

* For the explanation of this word, see *MCm.* iii. 16, where it is explained as a hall for discussing civic matters. *SCm.* iii. 301 mentions its use as a hall where art or craft is learnt. Also see note on this word in X. 2. Cf. *Samsthāgāra* in *Gilgit* *Mss.* iii, part 2, p. 186, part 3, p. 18.

[3] All then went to the most beautiful lady (lit. good head) and said; "We hope, you know that we are now given up, and not looked up to [with respect]; that they have all turned to Śramaṇa Gautama, as their teacher. Will you not be able to bring him into disrepute and thus do good to our group?" The beautiful lady said: "What do you mean by 'doing good'?" "Just sacrifice your life and die." "I cannot do that," replied she. They said: "If you cannot, from now on till the end of your life, we shall not count you as one amongst us." The woman heard this and became unhappy. She [then] said: "Be it so; I must do my duty." The group of disciples said "Well-done!" They all gave instructions to the girl. "From now on, morning and evening, go to the place of the Buddha. Several times go into Jetavana. Let the public (lit. thousands of families) see and know you going thus. We shall kill you and bury you in the Jetavana. Let Gautama be thrown into disrepute." The little lady received these instructions, frequently visited the place of Śramaṇa [Gautama], and let this fact about her [visits] known to all people.

[4] They then took the woman, killed her and buried her in the Jetavana. The Brahmans then met together in a meeting, went to the door of the palace of the King and showing signs of hatred said: "Amongst our disciples there was a girl just graceful, good and possessing unparalleled beauty. We know no place where she may be [found] living or dead." "What place did she always go to?" They all replied: "She always went to and came from the place of Śramaṇa Gautama." The King said: "Then, that place must be searched." Then the King ordered the officers and soldiers [to do the same]. The King, while searching went to Jetavana, had the body dug out, placed it on a cot and had it carried to Śrāvasti over the four roads, and all over squares and lanes. Displaying enmity, they [all] said: "All people have been looking up to ascetic Gautama, the son of the Sākyas. All said that his conduct and virtues were generous and unexcelled. How did he then thus misbehave

with a woman, kill her, bury her and thus hide her? Things being so, how can there be any *Dharma*, virtue or practice of conduct?"

[5] At the time of food, all the mendicants took their begging-bowls, entered the city and begged their food. The noble families and common people saw them from afar, and with scorn remarked: "You *Sramanas*, yourselves, say that you have the *Dharma*, virtue, good conduct. But you are violating it in this way. Of what good is it? How can you get any longer food, or clothing?" The *Bhikṣus* heard such [words], carried their bowls empty, came out of the city, washed their hands and feet, covered their begging bowls and reached the place of the Buddha. They all paid their respects to Him, stood up, and did not sit down. They narrated the whole story as above. At that time, the Buddha said this *gāthā*:

(1) Thoughtlessly, if the crowd let go their minds and
falsely accuse,
Fighting and piercing with arrows [of words], to be
endured with pain,
And if one hears the commoner shooting good or bad
words,
The mendicant will put up with them, without letting
his mind be disturbed.² [Ud. (iv. 8) p. 45]

The Buddha told the *Bhikṣus* that he was being pierced by false calumny which would not last longer than seven days.³

2 *Tudanti vācāyo janā asamyatā pare hi saṅgāmugataṁ'va kūṭijaram.*
sutvāna vākyam pharusaṁ udīritam adhivāsyē bhikkhu
aduṭṭhacitto. (Ud. iv. 8, p. 45)

3 See Ud. p. 45—*Neso, Bhikkhave, saddo ciram bhavissati, sattāha-*
meva bhavissati; sattāhassa accayena antaradhbāyissati...; SnCm. 519—
sattāhameva ayam saddo bhavissati—DhpCm. i. 213 (in Udenavatthu):
"Mā cintayi, Ananda; ete sattāhaṁ yeva akkosissanti, aṭṭhame divase
tunhī bhavissanti.

[6] At that time, there was a pure lady with faith [in the Buddha], an *upāsikā* named Wei-yen (惟闍 Viśākhā).* She heard in the town that the *Bhikṣus* searched for food but all of them came back with empty [bowls]. She had so much pity upon the Buddha and his *Saṅgha*. Then she quickly went to Jetavana, went to the place of the Buddha, paid respects to Him, went round Him and sat aside. The Buddha told the *sūtra-dharma* in detail. When Wei-yen finished listening to the *sūtra-dharmas*, she got up, folded her hands, and said to the Buddha. "I wish the Blessed One and the *Bhikṣu-Saṅgha* take their food from my family for seven days." The Buddha accepted [the offer] by remaining silent. Wei-yen went round the Buddha three times and went away. The seventh day came. The Buddha said to Ānanda: "With the *Bhikṣus*, you enter the city, and go through all squares, lanes and cross-roads." He said the following *gāthās*:

(2) By constant deceipt, evil darkness doth one reach;
 What he says he doth practise, though rules he may not
 violate.
 Even in dense darkness, deceiptful tricks he doth play,
 And thus gets himself hated, and suffering doth he
 reach as well.

(3) While practising things that bring worldly reward,
 If unrestrained, he gets himself hated and doth himself
 harm;
 Evil words cut the very root (i. e. nape) of the head,
 Therefore, the doors [of senses] he must always guard
 and close.

(4) The Honoured One has often met the [public] revile:
 That he is empty and that no character has he,

* Wei-yen 惟闍. This is to be identified with Viśākhā. The first part corresponds to *vi* and the latter character seems to us to give the sense of Viśikhā, a street, a lane; See Couvereur, Chinese-French Dictionary, which gives that sense. Evidently, there is a confusion between Viśākhā and Viśikhā. [Or, can it be explained from its ancient pronunciation as wei-iam<wi(s)-(g)iam?]

From such words, the Order has suffered within ;
 With jealousy (嫉) in heart, no peace could
 they find within.

(5) To get the reward of this treasure peculiar to men,
 He vigorously practises deceipt and gets the same.
 Thus he becomes an object of hatred all around,
 And, at his worst, he forfeits the treasure he found.

(6) He has nothing but hatred for men that are good.
 To the six-fold⁴ world and to existences five,⁵ to boot,
 To the path of life that is evil, doth he himself betake,
 Thinking all the while of practising his wicked
 deceipt,
 Which he hails (善) as being ten ten-thousands
 in kind.

Ananda then received instructions. All entered the city. In squares, lanes and cross-roads, he said what the Buddha had instructed. At that time, all the common people and noble families in Sravasti, having this thought in mind, said : Disciples of Säkyä-putra are not really wicked. They have been disciples of Säkyä, who has surely not misbehaved.

[7] At that time there were also the Brahmans who in the discussion-hall were sitting and having a debate and wrangling. Among them, there was one who said "I shall reveal your secret (lit. affair)." He went out and cried aloud : "These people have themselves killed Sundarī (好首)⁶, but they are scandalising the Buddha and His disciples!" The great ministers heard this loud declaration. Then they entered

4-5 世六餘有五 This line is not quite clear. Is there any reference to *cha-dhā ayam loko, pañcavokārabhavo*, the six-fold world and the existence of physical aspects to add 餘 i.e. the five *skandhas*? Cf. Sn. 169—*Chassu loko vihaññati*; Sn. 171—*pañca kāmaguṇā loka manochaṭṭhā pañmoditā*. Also Ps. i.122 (quoted in Vis. VII. 28)—*Cha lokā, cha ajjhātikāni āyatanāni*; also M. iii. 239 quoted in Vis. XV. 22)—*Chadhāturo ayam puriso*; cf. S. iv. 159.

6 Lit. 'Beautiful head.' It is an interesting expression used for a beautiful lady and worth noting. See Watters i. 389.

[the King's palace] and told him [the whole matter]. The King then sent for the Brahmans and asked: "Have you not killed Sundari?" They then replied "Truly so." The King angrily said: "I must heavily punish you. Why do you, living in my territory, profess that you are following the [good] Path, while you entertain in your mind the ideas of killing and causing harm to others?" He ordered another minister to search them all, to scatter [his men] all along the city of Srāvasti, through squares and lanes, to chase them out and drive them beyond the borders of his territory.

[8] At the time of meal, the Buddha, accompanied by the mendicants who had taken their begging-bowls, entered the city. There was, at that time, a pure and faithful disciple (*upāsaka*) called A-siu-li (阿須利).⁷ He saw the Buddha from afar, went to him and paid respects to Him and said to the Buddha aloud that the disciple (i. e., he himself) was so much sad at heart that he could not distinguish even the names of the four directions, that he could not recite again the *sūtra* once heard by him, that he had heard that the Buddha and *Bhikṣu-Saṅgha* were hated and pierced by bad name. The Buddha said to A-siu-li: "No, it is just because of past life." The Buddha then said the *gāthās*:

- (7) There is slander for one who speaks little,
There is slander for one who speaks much.
There is slander for one who speaks moderate⁸.
This is the evil in the world—that ther's none
not censured.

7 DhpCm. iii. 225-328 (on Dhp. 227) has Atula, which, in fact, has been included in the stanza itself: *Porāṇametam. Atula, netam ajjatandmiva.* The corresponding stanza in Udānavarga XXIX. 48-49 does not mention Atula. Also see Beal's Translation of Fa-k'iu (Chinese Dharmapada), p. 122. For this name, Āsuri, see Br̥ha. Upa. 2. 6.3; 6.5.2. [I owe this reference to my friend and colleague Dr. V. V. Gokhale, of Fergusson College, Poona]. Also see 'Harivarman on Vaiśāradhya, by N. Aiyaswamy Shastri, who refers to one A-śu-ri (Sino-Indica Studies, i. pp. 129-130).

8 B and Su have *ngo* 惡 evil, while Taisho and Sh. have *chung* 忠, honest, upright. But we prefer to suggest an emendation—*chung*, 中,

(8) In the past as well as in the future,
 In the present, too, there doth exist none,
 Who, throughout life, has faced only slander,
 Or, throughout life, has all been praised—

rare indeed! [Dhp. 227-228]

The Buddha explained in detail to A-siu-li the *sūtra*.

[9] Then he reached the house of Siu-ta (須達 Sudatta).* Straight he went to the high seat. Siu-ta paid his respects to the Buddha, folded his hands and said: "We are sorry. We cannot recognise the face⁹ of the direction. We cannot recite the *sūtradharma* heard before. We have heard that the Buddha and the *Bhikṣu-Saṅgha* are hated and pierced by the evil name." The Buddha at that time said the *gāthās* :—

(9) Like an elephant that moves on fighting,
 Pierced and wounded and yet unaware,
 I, too, must have a patient mind
 For worldly men of wicked thoughts.¹⁰

(Dhp. 320; Udv. xxix. 21)

(10) Free from sore is my hand;
 Carrying poison, [freely] can I move about;
 Poison cannot [in the least] affect a soreless man;
 So the doer of good can never a sinner be.

(Dhp. 124; Udv. xxviii. 15).

The Buddha told, in detail, the *Sūtra* to Siu-ta.

[10] Then he reached the house of Wei-yen (惟闍 Viśākhā).

moderate (Pali *mita*), which would agree with not only the Pali reading but also with the Tibetan (Udānavarga, XXIX, Beckh 49, Rockhill's trans. 48) which is *dal-bus*, which means 'gently, slowly.' We have already referred, above, (II. notes 7 and 14) to such confusion of characters with similar sounds. Also see "Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga: A Comparative Study," pp. 29-30. * Sudatta, Anāthapindada.

9 Fang-mien 方面 as opposed to fang-ming 方名, name of the direction. In the two references, also, in the narration about Viśākhā and Prasenajit, we have fang-mien.

10 B and Su—無善, while T and Sh. 無喜, without pleasure unpleasant; we prefer the former which agrees with Pali *dussilo* (Dhp. 320); also see Udānavarga, XXIX. 21, Beal 144.

Straight he went to the high seat. Wei-yen after paying respects to Him, folded her hands and said: I am very sorry. My own self cannot distinguish the faces of the directions. The Sūtra once heard cannot be recited again. The Buddha and the *Bhikṣu-Saṅgha* are hated and pierced by evil name." The Buddha said this *gāthā* intended for Wei-yen :—

(11) An ignorant man wishes to give some trouble,
But how can one, pure within, be soiled by things
without?
The stupid fool, himself misled, begins to hate,
But this action of his becomes like fine dust thrown
against wind. (Dhp. 125)

Wei-yen, at the time when the Buddha and the *Bhikṣu-Saṅgha* had finished their meal and washed their [bowls], took a low seat (*P. nīcamāsanāñ gahetvā*) and listened to the Buddha delivering the Sūtra. The Buddha spoke about observing the purity of conduct and of practices. She had an insight into the Paths and then went away.

[11] At that time, the King of the country, named Po-se-ni (波私匿 Prasenajit, Pali Pasenadi), followed by his attendants and chariots, left, with all his dignified manners, the city and reached Jetavana. He wished to see the Buddha. The chariots could not reach the place. He came down the chariot and, on foot, went in. He saw the Buddha from afar, took off the umbrella and took down the crown. His attendants went aside. He (lit. his feet) left the golden sandals. He paid his respects to the Buddha in front, and then sat. He folded his hands before the Buddha and said: "Our people are very sorry. They are not able to distinguish the faces of directions and recite again the *sūtradharma* [already] recited to them. We have heard that the Buddha and his *Bhikṣu-Saṅgha* are hated and pierced by evil name." The Buddha then said the *gāthās* to the King :—

(12) Short (i.e. cutting) are the words which the evil-minded say, [cf. VII. 7th verse]
Good are those said by [men] that have grasped
the Truth;

When a wordy fight has its course, the Honour'd One
Uses no words, good or bad, and so never doth
he suffer.* 1 [Sn. 780]

(13) In his behaviour, how can he—[the heretic]—give up
The worldly [attachments], dominated as he is by
desires?

Undisturbed, he doth embrace his virtues supreme—
Those that are a taboo to him whose desires are
curbed.¹¹ 2 [Sn. 781, except d]

All the people in the country of Sravasti had these thoughts of doubt about the Buddha and the *Bhiksu-Saṅgha*: “What is it due to that they are suffering from the dangers of ill-fame?” All the people compared this with the supernatural powers of the Buddha, which were great and majestic. [He was] like the Moon that could go, among stars, unobstructed.

The Buddha knew all their thoughts and then he said this *Arthapada-sūtra*:

(14) If a man observing his rules and practices of conduct,
Declares them first, without being asked about them,
The righteous question the same and call it unlawful—
So are they who to the mendicants go and self-purity
declare. 3 (Sn. 782)

(15) Due to quiescence (止), worldly things he never
doth hug,
Nor does he boast of his strict observance of conduct;
The wise believe this to be the lawful course,
When they instruct the people with attachment
none. 4 (Sn. 783).

(16) The Law¹² he utters is neither hidden nor decayed;

* [Asti ti nāsti ti vivāda esa śuddhī a]-śuddhī ti ayaṁ vivādaḥ
vivādaprāptāna na duhkha sāmyati avivādaprāptāna duhkham
nirudhyate
(Gilgit MSS. ii. Samādhirājasūtra, 9. 28)

11 The last line is quite different from that in Pali. In the *Āṭṭhakavagga*, both these stanzas form a part of the main *Sūtra*.

12 This whole stanza is not clear. It does not agree with Pali.

III

(दुद्धकसुत्तं*)

780 वदन्ति वे^१ दुद्धमनापि एके^२ । अथोऽपि^३ वे^४ सद्वमना वदन्ति ।
वादं च जातं मुनि नो उपेति । तस्मा मुनि नत्थि खिलो कुहिञ्चि ॥१॥

781 सकं हि दिद्धि कथमच्चयेद्य । छन्दानुनीतो^५ रुचिया निविद्धो ।
सयं समस्तानि पकुञ्जमानो । यथा हि जानेद्य तथा वदेद्य ॥२॥

782 यो अत्तनो सीलवतानि जन्तु । अनानुपुद्धो^६ च^७ परेस^८ पावा^९ ।
अनरियधम्मं कुसला तमाहु । यो आतुमानं सयमेव पावा^९ ॥३॥

783 सन्तो च भिक्खु अभिनिब्युतत्तो । इतिऽहंति सीलेसु अकर्त्थमानो ।
तमरियधम्मं कुसला वदन्ति । यस्मुस्सदा नत्थि कुहिञ्चि लोके ॥४॥

1 म०-चे. 2 सी०-एते. 3 नि०-अञ्जेऽपि. 4 सी०-चे. 5 म०-छन्दाननीतो.
6 म०-फुद्धो. 7 म०- Omits. 8 म०-परस्त. 9 म०-पाव.

*—अर्थपद ३.

780^{a-o} cf. 832; cf. Gilgit Manuscripts, vol. ii. समाधिराजसूत्र ६ २८
783^d = M. V. I. 2. 3^o (WZKM. XXIV.)

The Honoured One is censured, and yet thinks:
 'I have neither joy nor fear'.
 On his practices, he looks and finds them never
 amiss or leaky,
 With attachment he never thinks of them. How¹³
 can there then be anger or joy? 5 (Sn. 784 diff.)

(17) Whatever he had, he has turned away and abandoned.
 Of the bright Law, he has taken with wise
 discrimination (正).
 Seeking the right vantage, the void doth he gain,
 As he knows all things to be characterised as, and
 • rooted in,¹⁴ void. 6 (Sn. 785 diff.)

(18) To nothing is he attached, as nothing doth he possess;
 Never doth he crave for life in the three realms.
 Egoism and darkness¹⁵ all he has cut off.
 Say, how can he go and in what place can he
 himself lodge? 7 (Sn. 786)

(19) Whatever he should have had, he has broken and
 gone forth,
 Whatever his religion says, he neither loves nor
 clings to.
 Detachment he has attained and deliverance he has
 secured,
 By up-rooting, all things he has abandoned and
 gone far ahead. 8 (Sn. 787 diff.)

When the *Sūtra* uttered by the Buddha was finished, the
Bhikṣus expressed their joy and approbation.

13 T, Sh. and Su read 何 for B.'s reading 無, which may also be interpreted thus:—'Without attachment, he thinks of them and is without anger or joy.' This is very simple, when compared with the curious Pali expression *kuppa-paṭicca-santī*.

14 以相 (v.l. 想 of T and Sh.) 空法本空.

15 可讀冥 for Pali *māyāñ ca māññāñ ca*, where the former has no proper equivalent in Chinese.

784 पक्षिपिता^१ सङ्कृता यस्त धम्मा । पुरुक्तता^२ सन्ति अवीवदाता^३ ।
यदत्तनि^४ पस्सति आनिसंसं । तं निस्सितो कुप्प-पटिष्ठ-सन्ति^५ ॥५॥

785 दिट्ठीनिवेसा^६ न हि खातिवत्ता । धम्मेसु निच्छेष्य^७ समुग्गहीतं ।
तस्मा नरो तेसु निवेसनेसु । निरस्सर्ता^८ आदियतिष्ठ^९ धम्मं ॥६॥

786 धोनस्त हि^{१०} नत्थ कुहिष्ठि लोके । पक्षिपिता दिट्ठि भवामवेसु ।
मायं च मानं च पहाय धोनो । स केन गच्छेष्य अनूपयो^{११} सो ॥७॥

787 उपयो हि धम्मेसु उपेति वादं । अनूपयं^{१२} केन कथं वदेष्य ।
अत्तं निरसं न हि तस्स अत्थ । अधोसि सो दिट्ठिमिधेव सब्बा^{१३} ॥८॥

— — —

तुद्धकसुतं निहितं ।

1 म०-का. 2 म०पुरे०. 3 म०-सन्तिमवी०. 4 रो-०नी. 5 म०-कुप्पं पटिष्ठते सन्ति. 6 म०-दिट्ठि०. 7 म०-निगच्छेष्य. 8 म०, नि०-निरस्सति. 9 म०-०ती च. 10 रो०-ही. 11 सी०, म०-अनुपयो, अनुपयं. 12 म०, Fsb.-सब्बं.

784^a=797^a. 784^a—Chin. has a simple expression. See note on Chin. 785^b=837^b=907^b. cf. 801^a. 786^b cf. 910^b.

IV

*The Fourth Sūtra about the Brahman
Mo-kie (摩竭, Māgadha?).*

[T.177^a-178^a; Sh.58^b-59^a; Su.58^b-59^a; B.i.12^b-14^a]

[1] The Buddha was living in the town of Srāvasti in Jetavana in the pleasure-resort of Anātha-piṇḍada. There was a Brahman named Mo-kie. He suddenly died in the Preaching-Hall. His fellow-students then put him on a cot. They all carried him into Srāvasti, through squares, lanes and cross-roads. They said aloud: "Those who saw the Brahman Mo-kie did all attain deliverance.¹ Now those who see his dead body will also attain deliverance. Afterwards those who will hear his name will also be delivered."

[2] All the mendicants, at the time of meal, took their begging-bowls, entered the city and searched for food. At that time, they heard the Brahmins speaking about the merits of the Brahman Mo-kie, in the manner described above. After finishing the meal and after washing the bowls, they returned to the Buddha's place. Having paid their respects, all took their seats. Then, to the Buddha, they repeated the whole story, from the beginning to the end, as detailed above.

[3] The Buddha narrated the whole chapter for this purpose, [namely]: to make the disciples much more learned and much wiser, to enlighten the succeeding generations and to make the *sūtra-mārga* last longer. This is the *Arthapada-sūtra* :—

(1) 'The pure and what is freed from disease'—I notice ;
I, the faithful, who see the Truth, and purity of self.
He who knows this has full purity attained,
Having cut off all suffering which his self did
experience within. (=Sn. 788, except c-d).

1 Cf. the story of Candābha in SnCm. pp. 523-25 (on *Suddhaṭṭhaka-sutta*) :—*Yo Candābham passati, so ca sādhanāni labhati, samparāyan ca saggam gacchati.*

IV

(सुखदक्षसुर्चं*)

788 पस्सामि सुखं परमं अरोगं । विद्वेन¹ संसुख्यि नरस्स होति ।
 एताभिजानं² परमंति अत्वा । सुखानुपस्ती ति³ पच्चेति आणं ॥१॥

1 स०-दिवीन.

2 म०, नि०-एवामि.^०

3 म०-0mits.

* = अर्थपद ४.

788^b cf. 789^a.

(2) 'By holding a good view, it is possible to make
one pure,
By possessing wisdom, it is possible to be free
from pain'—
[Such] evil views the skilful give up and follow
the path that's pure,
Cutting off all such heresies, one doth realise the
purity that is highest. (=Sn. 789 except d)

(3) No deliverance doth he gain from heresies diverse,
From what is seen, or heard, from rites or rituals
and beliefs;
Never gets he tainted by merit or demerit;
Everything he has relinquished, [even] love of
fame.* [Sn. 790 q. d.]

(4) All aspirations he gives up, and no more doth he regret;
Thus he acts and the four Floods² doth he cross.
As soon as he ceases to contemplate on suffering,
He enters into bondage of thoughts, that rule his mind.
(Sn. 791 q. d.)

(5) He who constantly thinks of his rites and rituals,
High horse doth he ride, or sinks into suffering that he
meets.
By thinking (念) these thoughts, his rituals doth he
practise a little,
But the discriminating wise have no such words of
pretence. (Sn. 792, except c.)

(6) Doubts he has none for anything; for
What he has seen or heard, or thought over;

* Stanza 790 of Sn. is so different from that in Chinese. We fail to see anything corresponding to the famous Pali simile: *kapi'va sākham pamukham gahāya.*

2 The four floods often mentioned in Buddhist books are *kāmogha*, the flood of passion, *bhavogha* the flood of existence, *ditthogha* the flood of heresies, and *avijjogha*, the flood of ignorance. See *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, chap. VII. 4 (edited by D. Kosambi, and published by Mahā-bodhi Society, Sarnath, Benares).

789 दिद्वेन च सुखि नरस्स होति । आणेन वा सो पजाहाति तुकर्त्त ।
अव्ययेन सो सुजकति सोपधीको । दिद्वी^१ हि नं पाव तथा वदानं ॥२॥

790 न ब्राह्मणो अव्ययतो सुखिमाह । दिद्वे सुते सीलबते^२ मुते वा ।
पुष्टे च पाये च अनूपलिङ्गो^३ । अत्तज्जहो^४ न यिध^५ पकुञ्जमानो ॥३॥

791 पुरिमं पहाय अपरं सितासे^६ । एजानुगा ते^७ न तरन्ति सङ्गं ।
ते उगदायन्ति निरस्सजन्ति^८ । कपीष साखं पमुखं^९ गहाय^{१०} । ४॥

792 सयं समादाय वतानि जन्तु । उषावचं गच्छति सङ्गसत्तो^{११} ।
विद्वा च वेदेहि समेष्व धर्मं । न उषावचं गच्छति भूरिपञ्चो ॥५॥

1 म०- दिद्वि. 2 सी०-सीलबते. 3 सी०, म०-अनु०. 4 सी०-अत्तजहो.
5 म० Fsb.-न इध. 6 म० सिनाय. 7 म०-न ते. 8 म०-निरसजन्ति,
निसञ्जन्ति. 9 सी०-पमुखं, म०-पमुख. 10 सी०-गहायं. 11 सी०-पञ्च,
म०-सञ्चततो, अञ्चततो.

789^a cf. 881^a, 889^a.790^b = 797^b 887^a.790^c cf. 636.

The Truth he has seen or heard, and with energy starts
its practice;

Who can make for him the world, that is no more than
six³ decaying things? (Sn. 793 diff. except b)

(7) Himself has no speculation, nor doth he pay homage to
any;

With no hankering, he doth practise what is none but
the purest;

With likes and dislikes cut off, no attachment has he;

Hankering after the world he has cut off, and so no
attachments has he. (Sn. 794)

(8) Nothing does he possess and thus a Brahman is he made,
The Law he has seen and heard and thus properly
accepted;

No passion of senses has he, and likewise,

No attachment for the passions that corrupt;

And thus for him there is nothing that is purest,

To which he may [ever] get himself attached. [Sn. 795]

The Buddha said this *Arthapada-sūtra* and the mendicants
expressed their joy and approbation.

3 Cf. "Cha-dhāturo ayam puriso," M. iii. 239 quoted in Vis. XV.
22. Also see S. iv. 159, Sañayatana-samyutta, sutta No. 189:—"Evameva
—cha bañsā lokasmin anayāya sattānam, vyābaddhāya pānīnam. Katame
cha? Santi, Bhikkhave, cakkhu-viññeyyā rūpā iññhā kantā manapā
piya-rūpā kāmūpasamphitā rajaniyā. Santi...sota-viññeyyā saddā...ghāra-
viññeyyā gandhā...jivhāviññeyyā rasā...kāya-viññeyyā phoñhabbā...
mano-viññeyyā dhammā iññhā.... Also see note 4 in Chapter III.

793 स सञ्चधम्मेसु^१ विसेनिभूतो । यं किञ्चिद् दिद्धं व^२ सुतं मुतं वा ।
 तमेवदस्सिं विवर्तं चरन्तं । केनीध लोकस्मिं^३ विकप्ययेत्य ॥६॥

794 न कप्ययन्ति न पुरेक्ष्वरोन्ति^४ । अञ्चन्तसुद्धीति^५ न ते वदन्ति ।
 आदानगन्य गथित विसज्ज । आसं न कुञ्चन्ति कुहिञ्चि लोके ॥७॥

795 सीमातिगो ब्राह्मणो तस्स नत्थि । जत्वा^६ व^७ दिस्वा^८ व^९ समुग्गहीतं ।
 न रागरागी न विरागरत्तो^७ । तस्सीध^८ नत्थिय^९ परमुग्गहीतं ॥८॥

सुच्छट्टकसुत्तं निहितं ।

1 सी०-सञ्चेसू धम्मेसु, Omitting स. 2 म०-वा. 3 म०, Fsb-०स्मि.
 4 म०-पुरक्ष०- 5 म०-०सुद्धि. 6 सी०, म०-व. 7 सी०, म०-पि रागरत्तो.
 8 म०-तस्स यिध. 9 रो०-नत्थी

793^a + ^b = 914^a + ^b.

793^b = A. IV. 24^{1a}. (II. 25.) S. IX. 10. 5^o (I. 203).

793^b + ^d cf. 802^a + ^d + 803^a.

V

The Fifth Sūtra about the Mirror-faced (鏡面) King:

[T.178^a-178^o; Sh.59^a-59^b; Su.59^a-60^a; B.i.14^a-16^b]

[1] Thus have I heard. The Buddha was living in the town of Śrāvasti in Jetavana in the pleasure-resort of Anāthapindada. Many monks, at the time of the meal, took the begging-bowls and entered the city in search of food. This thought occurred to them: "We have entered the city too early. We better go to the discussion-hall of the various [heretic] Brahmans." [They accordingly went there]. They had mutual greetings and then they took their seats. At that time the Brahmans were having a wordy fight (靜) and they produced a difficult situation (lit. a knot), which was difficult to unravel (lit. untie). They hurled slander and words of hatred at each other. They said "I know this Law; what Law do you know? What is known by me agrees with the Path. With what Path does what you know agree? The Law of my Path can be depended upon and practised. The Law of your Path is difficult to be approached. What should be said first [by you] is said afterwards, and what should be said afterwards is said first.* You said much about Law which is all not correct. You leave a heavy burden for others which you yourself cannot lift. The meaning of what you say cannot be understood. You know for certain that there is nothing which really exists with you. You are in a fix (lit. over-powered); what reply can you

1 For this story, see Ud. (vi 4) p. 68, which does not give the name of the king. It simply says "Bhūtapubbaṁ, Bhikkhave, imissā yeva Sāvatthiyāṁ anñataro rājā ahosi. UdCm. p. 341, while commenting on anñataro rājā says:—"Purātano nāmagottehi loke apākaṭo eko rājā ahosi." Jā. (No. 257) ii. 297 mentions a prince Ādārśamukha, but the story told there about him is quite different. Also cf. Aesop's Fables, "Spectacles" (pp. 351-52 of the edition published by Cowell & Co., 1893).

* Cf. D. i. 3; M. ii. 3; 243; Nid.¹ 173: "Na tvāṁ imāṁ dhamma-vinayāṁ ājānāsi...pure vacanīyāṁ pacchā avaca, pacchā vacanīyāṁ pure avaca.

give in return? You are hurting and hitting one another by the sharp-pointed weapon of your tongue.* For one poisonous [hit], there are three in return. The *Bhikṣus* have heard your wicked words. Thus it is not good. Your words have no proof." [The *Bhikṣus* having heard this], got up from their seats and went to Srāvasti in search of food. After finishing their meals, and keeping the bowls [in a safe place], returned to Jetavana and entered the Arāma. They paid respects to the Buddha and all sat aside. They then thus said in detail: "Think how the disciples of these [Brahmans] are themselves suffering. When will they be freed [from suffering]?"

[2] The Buddha said: "These Brahmans have been stupid not only in one life, [but in several]. Long long ago, in this Jambudvīpa, there was a King named Ching-mien (鏡面 Ādarśamukha). He ordered his officers to go over the whole country and get all the blind men over to his palace. The officers received the order and went away. They got all the blind men over to the palace, and informed the King about the same. The King ordered the great ministers: "Take all these men and show them the elephant." The ministers then took them to the elephant-shed, pointed out the elephant to each of them and let them touch the same. There were some who touched his legs, some who touched his tail...the stalk of the tail...belly...ribs...back...ear...head...trunk and [some who touched his] nose. To all of them the elephant was shown. All were taken over to the King. The King asked them all "Have you carefully looked over the elephant?" They replied: "We have all seen [the elephant]". The King said "What is the elephant like?" Those who had touched his legs said: "O wise King, the elephant is like a pillar". Those who had touched his tail.....the stalk of the tail,.....the belly...ribs...back...ear...head...trunk...nose, said that the ele-

* M. ii. 243 (No. 104): "Anñamaññam mukhasattī vitudanta viharanti."

2 The passage here is abbreviated. The Chinese repeats with each case "O Wise King, the elephant is like....."

phant was respectively like a sweeping broom, stick, round mound, wall, high bank [of a river], great winnowing basket, pestle, horn and rope. Then, there was, before the King, a wordy fight about the elephant. Every one said: "The truth is as I have said." The King at that time said this *gāthā*:

(1) "I have let the blind men gather together,
 [And found] them, devoid of truth,
 Declaring themselves [alone] as truthful;
 Each one alone, they contend, sees the truth,
 And none of the rest. Thus are all these,
 That rode one and the same elephant,
 And yet are given to mutual condemnation."

Then the Buddha told the *Bhikṣus* that the King Ching-mien was none but Himself, and the blind men in the discussion-hall were none but the Brahmans. At that time, they were without knowledge and given to empty quarrels. Now, also, they are in darkness. Empty quarrel is of no avail.

[3] The Buddha, then, to convey this meaning, composed this chapter. Also, with the intention of making his disciples understand [things better], of enlightening the succeeding generations, and of making the *Sūtra-dharma* last longer, he said this *Arthapada-sūtra*:-

(2) Himself in darkness, matchless doth he himself declare,
 Drifting in ignorance, when will it be dawn with him?
 Himself without religion (道), and still protesting
 that he has learnt all,
 Distracted and with no good practices, understanding
 when will he have? 1 (Sn. 796 diff.)

(3) 'Commendable', doth he declare all the practices he
 follows,
 And 'matchless', what he has seen, heard or practised.
 Sunk in and bound with the five³ worldly abodes (宅),
 'Admirable and surpassing all', he holds his practices
 to be. 2 (Sn. 797)

3 Probably this refers to the five *ālayas* or *kāmaguṇas*. See Sn. 535 'Chetvā āśavāni, ālayāni;' Sn. 635 'Yasseālayā na vijjanti.'

V

(परमट्टकसुक्तं*)

796 परमंति दिष्टीसु¹ परिब्बसानो । यदुत्तरिं² कुरुते जन्तु लोके ।
हीनाति अङ्गे ततो सब्बमाह । तस्मा विवादानि अवीतिवच्चो ॥१॥

797 यदक्षनी³ पस्सति आनिसंसं । दिष्टे सुते सीलवते सुते वा ।
तदेव सो तथ्य समुग्गाहय । निहीनतो पस्सति सब्बमङ्गं⁴ ॥२॥

1 सी०, म०-दिष्टिसु. 2 म०-उत्तरि. 3 सी०, म०-०नि. 4 सी०-सब्बमङ्गे
(cf. 787^a, 796^c)

* = अर्थपद ५.

796^a cf. 907^c. 797^b see 790^b. 797^a cf. 798^b.

(4) In ignorance planted firm, pleasures with passion he
gains,
With studies misdirected, himself beguiles that adept-
ness he has reached;
With what he has seen, or heard, or truth contemplated,
Even if he observed good conduct, it doth him no good.
3 (Sn. 798 diff. except c)

(5) The heresies and practices of the world, he never doth
entertain.
Though wise thoughts he has, and good practices, too,
That he may raise himself to equality with others,
Or surpass them and thus respect gain—
Such thoughts do never occur to him. 4 (Sn. 799)

(6) This [world], he has already cut off, and what succeeds
is also exhausted,
By relinquishing his perceptions (想), the practices
only doth he attain;
With the knowledge he possesses, the wise he doth not
approach;
Though he has seen, or heard, mere contemplation he
doth practise. 5 (Sn. 800 a, c.)

(7) For both⁴ the ends, the hankering he has given up,
[Running] from life to life, he has abandoned, relin-
quished and kept off;
In both⁵ the places, he is not to be found.
On all the *dharmas*, he reflects and the rightful he
attains and dwells in. 6 (Sn. 801)

(8) To his practices, thoughtfully accepted, or to what he
has seen,

4 SnCm. pp. 517 and 530 (on Sn. 778 and 801 respectively) explain this as *phassa* and *phassa-samudaya*—contact and the origin of contact and the like. Cf. Mahāniddesa i. 109 (on Sn. 801). But see our note above, II, note 14.

5 The Chinese translation is not clear about this. Pali has in the preceding line *idha vā hūraṃ vā*, 'here or in the next life.'

798 तं वाऽपि गन्धं कुसला वदन्ति । यं निस्तितो¹ पस्तति हीनमङ्गं ।

तस्मा हि दिद्धं व शुतं मुतं वा । सीलब्बर्त भिक्खु न निस्तयेष्य ॥३॥

799 दिद्धिं ऽपि लोकस्मिं² न कप्पयेष्य । प्राणेन वा सीलवतेन वाऽपि ।

समोऽति अक्षानमनूपनेष्य । होनो न मङ्ग्रेथ विसेसि³ वाऽपि ॥४॥

800 अतं पहाय अनुपादियानो । प्राणेऽपि सो निस्तयं नो करोति ।

स वे वियत्तेषु⁴ न वग्गसारी । दिद्धिं ऽपि सो न पञ्चेति किञ्चित्⁵ ॥५॥

801 यस्तुमयन्ते⁶ पणिधीघ नत्य । भवाभवाय इघ वा हुरं वा ।

निवेसना तस्स⁷ न सन्ति केचि । घम्मेषु निच्छेष्य समुग्धीता⁸ ॥६॥

1 सी०-यन्निस्तिता.

2 म०-लोकस्मि.

3 सो, प०-विसेसवाऽपि,

म०-विसेसि चाऽपि.

4 Cm. वियत्तेषु, म०-द्वियत्तेषु, दियत्तेषु, वियत्तेषु.

5 Cm. कञ्चि (but cf. 917^a, 1023^a).

6 सी०-यस्तुमन्ते.

7 म०-यस्स.

8 म०-हीतं.

799 cf. 842, 918.

800^a cf. 840^a.

801^b cf. 496^b.

801^a cf. 785^b.

(9) Nothing doth he possess; how can the *dharmas* he have?
 Of the *dharmas* he practised before, he seeks and
 discusses the meaning;
 By merely observing conduct, the Truth itself he is
 seeking.
 He has completely gone beyond, and to the crowded
 world, he would not return. 8 (Sn. 803)

When the Buddha finished this *Arthapada-sūtra*, all the mendicants expressed their joy and approbation.

6 小不想 *natthi anūpi sañña*; also see later, chap. IX, the stanza corresponding to Sn. 841.

802 तस्सीध॑ दिह॑ व॒ सुते सुते वा । पक्षिता नत्थ अण॑ ऽपि सञ्चा ।
 तं ब्राह्मणं दिह्मनादियानं॑ । केनीध॑ लोकस्मि॑ विकप्ययेत्य ॥७॥

803 न कप्ययन्ति न पुरेक्षरोन्ति॑ । धम्माऽपि तेसं॑ न पठिच्छतासे॑ ।
 न ब्राह्मणो सीलवतेन नेत्यो । पारं गतो न पच्चेति॑० तादि॑१ ॥८॥
 परमद्वक्षुतं निहितं ।

1 म०-तस्स यिध.

2 म०-वा.

3 म०-अणु.

4 सी०-ब्राह्मणा दिह्मनादियाना.

5 सी०- कोनीध.

6 म०, Fsb, -स्मि.

7 म०-पुरेक्ष.

8 म०-Omits.

9 सी०, Fsb, -पनिच्छतासे. 10 Chin. supports. 11 See Nd¹.

144 ff. (Cm. on Sn 803d). Also see my article on the interesting history of this word in the D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration volume, pp. 249-258.

VI

The Sixth Sūtra about the Death of both, Old and Young.

[T.178^c-179^a; Sh.59^b-60^a; Su.60^a-60^b; B.i.16^b-18^a]

[1] Thus have I heard. The Buddha was living in the country of P'o-sao¹ (婆 播 Vatsas), outside a city under a tree called Ngan-yen² (安 延, *Añjana*?). There was at that time a cart-driver, who had gone out of the city but had not yet reached An-yen tree. The wheel of the cart broken on the road and it went down the road on one side. The driver sat sorrowful and grieved. At the time of the meal, the Buddha took his begging-bowl and, accompanied by Ānanda, entered the town to beg his alms. On the road, he saw the wheel of the cart broken and destroyed and the owner of the cart sitting down the road, grieved and sorrowful. Then he uttered this *Udāna* (優 檀, spontaneous utterance)—*Sūtra* :—

(1) Like the cart* that has gone astray down the road,
[Cf. Sn. 8 16c, Dhp. 222b.

Leaving the level surface and taking the wrong course,
Suffering is caused by taking to wrong views,
As was caused by the wheel that was broken.

(2) Being away from the Right Law, and further,
Mental attachment for the wrong means nothing
but suffering;

1 波 播 P'o-sao. This we identify with the ancient kingdom of the Vatsas (Pali Vamsas) often referred to as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas (A. iv. 252, 256, 260; Mv i. 84.9; ii. 419 9). See B.C. Law's 'Tribes in Ancient India,' chap. XXIX, pp. 135-150.

2 安 延 ngan-yen. We are inclined to identify this with Añjana tree. See. Jā. i. 331—*añjana-rukkha-sāra-ghatika-vanṇa-mahāmaccho*. Also see *añjana-vana* in SnCm. iii. p. 247.

* *Yathā sākātiko pantham* *samam hitvā mahāpatham*
visamam maggam āruhya *akkhaacchinno'vajhāyati.*
Evam dhammā apakkamma *adhammam anuvattiya*
nando maccumukhaṃ patto *akkhaacchinno'va jhāyati.*
(S. i. 57; Devaputta-samyutta
No. 2, chap. iii. 2nd sutta, Khema)

Miln. 66-67 also quotes these verses but reads *socati ti* instead of *jhāyati* in the last verse.

The fool is overpowered by the suffering of birth
and death,
As there was caused suffering by the wheel that
was broken. (=S. 1.57).

[2] The Buddha then entered the city. In the city there was a Brahman who died while he was one hundred and twenty years old. There was another house-holder's son, who died while he was just seven years old. The families of both the persons were performing the funeral ceremony. All of them held five-coloured³ flags. All the women, grown feeble, let the hair loose [on their backs]. The kinsmen cried and wept shedding tears. The Buddha saw this and asked *Ananda*: “What sort of people have assembled [here], giving out a painful and sorrowful cry? *Ananda*, then, told in reply [the whole story] as narrated above.

[3] Because of this incident, this thought came into the mind of the Buddha: “To make my disciples understand [things], I compose this chapter. Also, [it may be useful] to enlighten the succeeding generations as well as to make my *Sūtradharma* last long.” The Buddha delivered at that time this *Arthapada-Sūtra* :—

(3) Very short is the life of oneself;
When one is little less than a hundred years, one dies;
Although one may surpass the limit of a hundred
years,
That life, due to old age, is no escape from death. 1
(=Sn. 804.)

(4) Brooding over the lovable gives rise to suffering;
Love for it is there, because one takes it to be constant.
The likes and the dislikes must all depart;
And when one sees thus, no interest in the house will
he find. 2 (=Sn. 805)

(5) Nothing exists that's not overflowed by the flood of
Death,
Because of previous greed and craving, comes the
sense of my-ness.
Having an insight into Truth, the wise thus begin
to count;
'This is not my-self nor my-self is this'. 3 (=Sn. 806.)

(6) The beloved things in the world are like things seen
in a dream,
Which, when one gets awake, how can one see?
So are the things that the world runs after;
Friends and acquaintances, when dead, how can one
see? 4 (=Sn. 807.)

(7) Gone are all those who are merely heard about,
Good as well as bad, whom no longer can one see.
All that left this world, what place have they gone to?
The conscious beings have departed; names only
remain. 5 (=Sn. 808.)

(8) Grief, bewailing and mutual jealousy, that already
exist,
Are not given up by them that have greed and craving.

VI

(जरासुच्च*)

804 अप्य वत जीवित इदं । ओरं वस्ससताऽपि मिथ्यति ।
 यो^१ वेऽपि अतिष्ठ जीविति । अथ यो सो जरसाऽपि मिथ्यति ॥१॥

805 सोचन्ति जना ममायिते । न हि सन्ति निष्ठा^२ परिग्रहा ।
 विनाभावसन्तमेविदं । इति दिस्वा नागारमावसे ॥२॥

806 मरणेनाऽपि न पद्धीयति^३ । यं पुरिसो मम^४ यिदंति मज्जति ।
 एवंऽपि^५ विदित्वा पण्डितो । न ममत्ताय^६ नमेथ^७ मामको ॥३॥

807 सुपिनेन यथाऽपि सङ्गतं^८ । पटिबुद्धो पुरिसो न पस्सति ।
 एवंऽपि पियायितं^९ जनं । पेतं कालकतं न पस्सति ॥४॥

808 विट्ठाऽपि सुताऽपि ते जना । येसं नाममिदं पवृष्टति ।
 नाममेवावसिस्सति^{११} । अक्ष्वेद्य^{१२} पेतस्स^{१३} जन्तुनो ॥५॥

1 म०-न सो, सो. 2 सी०-मे. 3 So निं०; म०-न हिंसन्ति निष्ठा, Fsb. न हि सन्तानिष्ठा. 4 सी०, म०-पहिय्यति, 5 म०-ममयं, ममायं, मयं. 6 म०, निं०-एतं०. 7 म०, Fsb, पमत्ताय. 8 म०-नमेय. 9 म०-भंगतं. 10 सी०-जरायितं. 11 म०-नामं येवा,० एवावस्सयति, एव ताव सिस्सति. 12 See note below. 13 म०- एतस्स.

* = अर्थपद ६.

804=Dhp. A. 498^३, cf. S. N. 775^४, also in Chinese Dharmapada, Nanjio No. 1365.

807 also in the Mahāvibhāṣā, Nanjio No, 1263 + 1264 (Anesaki A. A. O.)

808 See 'Pali Akkheyyam' by Prof. S. M. Katre in I.H.Q. xi, p. 199, where he contends that Pali अक्ष्वेद्य is not related to आस्त्रेय but to अक्षय or अक्षय्य inspite of SnCm. 534 and Nd.^१ 127. Chin. throws no light on this as the Chinese reading gives only a general sense & is not always literal like the Tibetan.

Therefore, craving for possessions have the sages
abandoned,

From fears and terrors, far away, a safe place of rest
have they seen. 6 (=Sn. 809).

(9) On the Truth, the *Bhikṣu* contemplates, without
being forgetful⁴;

He wishes to be away from the body that is sure to
be dissolved;

He wishes to cultivate quiescence and mental
contemplation;

To Truth being inclined, there is no place [here]
where he can stay. 7 (=Sn. 810.)

(10) 'Having no place to stay' indicates the conduct of
the Sage,

Where, likes and dislikes, as well as the practices of
jealousy,

Grief and bewailing, along with the same practices
of jealousy,

Never do soil him, [and so is he] like a lotus
[to which water doth not cling]. 8 (=Sn. 811.)

(11) No⁵ attachment or longing he has had;

For what he has seen or heard, amiss, no craving
has he;

As he pursues them not, Deliverance he doth seek;
Untainted by sensuous passion, lust how can he

nurse? 9 (=Sn. 813).

4 Mo-wang-nien (莫忘念) without forgetful memory, without
the wiping of memory. Taisho and Sh give another reading wang 妍,
to roam, wander. It means 'without wandering memory.' Both these
readings suggest that the Chinese translator had the reading before
him *vivitta-mānasam*, which is accepted by Buddhaghosa in his *Visuddhi-
magga* XXI. 110, as well as by his commentator, *Dhammapāla*. The ori-
ginal correct reading, however, must be *vivittamāsanam*, as is proved
by *Mahāniddesa* i. 131. Also see *Visuddhimagga-dīpikā* by D. Kosambi,
p. 155, where he quotes from *Majjhima* and the *Gaṇthi*, which prove
that, in spite of the Commentary of *Dhammapāla*, the correct reading
is *vivittamāsanam*.

5 Note that the order of the Sn. verses 812-13 is reversed here, the
latter being given first.

809 सोकपरिदेवमच्छरं । न जहन्ति गिज्ञा ममायिते ।
 तस्मा मुनयो परिगग्दं । हित्वा अचरिण्यु¹ खेमदस्तिसनो ॥६॥

810 पतिलीनचरस्स² भिक्खुनो । भजमानस्स विविक्षमासनं³ ।
 सामग्नियमाहु तस्स तं । यो⁴ अस्तानं भवने न दस्सये ॥७॥

811 सब्बत्थ मुनिः⁵ अनिस्तितो । न पियं कुञ्जति नोऽपि अप्यियं ।
 तस्मि परिदेवमच्छरं । पण्णे वारि यथा न लिप्पति⁶ ॥८॥

812 उद्बिन्दु यथाऽपि पोक्खरे । पदुमे वारि यथा न लिप्पति⁶ ।
 एवं मुनि नोपलिप्पति⁶ । यदिदं विद्धुसुतं⁶ मुतेसु वा ॥९॥

1 म०-अचरिष्णु, अचरियंसु, अचरियिंसु. 2 म० पटि.^०
 3 म०- विविक्षमानसं, सी० चित्तमानसं, नि०-विविक्षमासनं. 4 म०-सो.
 4 Fsb.- मुनो. 5 म०, नि०-लिप्पति 6 म०-दिङ्दं^०.

810=Comp. Vis. XXI. 110 पतिलीनचरस्स भिक्खुनो भजमानस्स विविक्ष-
 मानसं ; also comp. उवर्णीयतरस्स ताइणो भयमाणस्स विविक्षमासणं &c.
 (सू० I. 2-2-17.) See note on Chin.

811^a Thag. 665. 811^a, 812^a+^b. cf. 547^a.
 812^a cf. Thag. 665^b. Dhp. 336d=Thag. 401^a. It. 88^ad,
 812^a+^b cf. Thag. 1180^a+^a. 812 see 845 cf. A. VI. 43. 2^a+^a.
 (III. 347.)
 812^b cf. 71. 213, 547^a+^b, 845. 812^a=813^b.

(12) By lust unaffected, like the lotus
 Unsmeread by water, though in it, it doth grow;
 The Sage, in this world, also acts thus;
 What is heard or seen is like what has never come
 into being. 10 (=Sn. 812).

The Buddha said this *Arthapada-Sūtra* and the mendicants expressed their joy and approbation.

VII.

*The Seventh Sūtra about the question of Mi-lei**
 (彌勒 Maitreya).

[T.179^a-179^b; Sh.60^a; Su.60^b-61^a; B.i.18^a-19^b]

[1] Thus have I heard. The Buddha was living in the country of Rājagrha in the Bamboo-Grove, frequented by many birds¹ (多鳥). There was at that time in the Assembly old *Bhiksus* in the Discussion-Hall sitting and discussing their own achievements, and asking one another difficult questions about [*Abhi-*]dharma. Sāriputra, the son of an elephant-hunter² was also sitting in their midst, hearing them

* For fragments of a Sanskrit version of this and the eighth, ninth and tenth sūtras, see Hoernle, JRAS. 1916, pp. 709-732. In the Sanskrit version on this sūtra, there is a prose introductory narrative which covers Sn. 814 also. According to Hoernle, the order of verses of Sn. 821-822 does not agree with that in Sanskrit version. He also remarks that the verses 816, 817, 821 and 823 are lost in Sanskrit.

1 For the use of this expression, see also the beginning of chapter X, where we have the same expression. Pali and Sanskrit have always *Kalandakā*- or *Karandaka-nivāpa* associated with the Bamboo-grove. Was the word *kalandaka* misunderstood by the Chinese translator? See Watters, ii. 157ff., where he gives various traditions about this name. One of them agrees with the Pali tradition, that it was given as a gift to squirrels by a King whose life was saved from the conspirators by their noise, which woke him up, and thus spoiled the plot of the conspirators.

2 Ts'ai-siang-tsueu 采象子字舍利弗). This seems to be a strange distortion of Pali *Citto Hathisāriputto*, which means Citra, the son of an elephant-driver. Malalasekera in his

813 धोनो न हि तेन मञ्चति । यदिदं दिद्धिसुतं¹ मुतेसु वा ।
 न अञ्चनेन² विसुद्धिमिच्छति । न हि सो रज्जति नो विरज्जति ॥१०॥
 जरासुतं निद्वितं ।

1 म०-दिदं.

2 म०, Fsb.-नाञ्चनेन.

speak about their own achievements and ask difficult questions about correct *dharma*. "The question is not in conformity with the right procedure," remarked [Sāriputra] and showed no regard or respect [for the old mendicants]. At that time the Sage Ta-kiu-sse (大句私 Mahā-Koṣṭhila, P. Mahā-Koṭṭhita)³ was also sitting in their midst. He said to Sāriputra "No, Brother, enter no doubt about old, senior, mendicants." In

Dictionary of Pali Proper Names gives as an alteranative reading Citta-Hatthiroha-putto (vol. i. p. 867). There is actually a *sutta* named Citta-hatthisāriputta (A. iii. 392ff.) In Kuddāla-jātaka (No. 70, Jā. i. 311) the name as given by Fausobli is Cittahattha-Sāriputta, which may be an inaccurate spelling of the name Citta-hatthi-Sāriputta. The Chinese translator seems to be confused about this. Not knowing that Citta was a personal name and Hatthisāri as a descriptive title, he takes Sāriputra as a personal name (following the name of the famous disciple of the Buddha, Sāriputra) of the son of an elephant-trainer, (Ts'ai-siang 一象). The word Ts'ai also means 'variegated' corresponding to *citta*. It is not unlikely that the Chinese rendering may be for citta-hatthi-[sāri]-putta, the word for *sāri* being only implied and not actually given. In both the alternatives, it is clear that the word *hatthisāri* was not understood by him and hence the mess. Cf. the Vedic word, *tsāri*.

In Chinese Madhyamāgama, there is a *sūtra* which, according to Akanuma (pp. 13,318), corresponds to the Cittahatthisāriputta-sutta in the Ānguttaranikāya.

3 Ta-kiu sse (大句私). We propose to identify this with Mahā-koṭṭhita, Sanskrit Mahākoṣṭhila who, according to Avadānaśataka ii. 194-95, was, prior to his joining the Buddhist Order, Dirghanakha *parivrājaka*. In A. iii. 392-93, we have a *sutta*, where Mahākoṭṭhita is actually represented as rebuking Citta Hatthisāriputta for his impudency in interrupting, with his remarks, the talk of Buddhist monks, who were discussing among themselves the points of Abhidharma. He advises him to await the conclusion of their talk and then put in his say:—

"*Tatra sudaṁ āyasmā Citto Hatthisāriputto therānaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ Abhidhammakathāṁ kathentānaṁ antarantarā kathāṁ opāteti. Atha kho āyasmā Kotṭhito āyasmantaṁ Cittam Hatthisāriputtam etadavoca— "Mā āyasmā Citto Hatthisāriputto therānaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ Abhidhammakathāṁ kathentānaṁ antarantarā kathāṁ opātesi; kathāpariyosānaṁ āyasmā Citto āgametā'ti.*

accordance with his words, [Sāriputra] paid his respect and regard to the senior monks.

[2] [Mahā-Koṣṭhila] explained to Sāriputra, in detail, the *Sūtra* on the Concentration of Mind,⁴ thus:—Long, long ago, there was born, in the family of a sage, a son who had a very sharp mind, and who reflected upon the Pure Law. Later, he shaved the head and the beard, gave up, with faith, his wordly affairs, put on religious clothes and became a *śramaṇa*. With great exertion, he practised sticking to the right and giving up the wrong [course]. When he had attained more practice, he understood that he was already delivered. At that time, there was a Sage Mi-lei (Maitreya).⁵ He went to the house of Sāriputra, who paid his respects to him and took from him the seat [he was carrying]. Maitreya then asked him a difficult question in conformity with the right procedure of *dharma* (如法律). Sāriputra, being ignorant of the matter, could not reply. Maitreya, then, got up and went away. He entered the city and begged his food. When he finished his food, he washed [the begging-bowl] and put it in a safe place and returned to the place where the Buddha was.

[3] Having finished paying respects to Him, he took his seat and in a *gāthā* put a question to the Buddha which He answered:—

(1) Sexual attachment to the physical charms of a woman
Is considered as the root of ignorance, in the Great
Path.

⁴ 定意經 Citta-samādahana-sutta. Apparently this seems to be a title given to the remaining part of the same Citta-hatthisāriputta-sutta, where there is a discussion of the various trances that are helpful to attain the quiescence of mind.

⁵ Mi-lei, is Maitreya, Pali Metteyya. Mvy. 646 gives these very characters.

I wish to accept the teaching of the Honour'd One;
Having attained that instruction, the evil [I'll keep
off]. (Sn. 814).

(2) Mental attachment to the physical senses of a woman
Leads to forgetfulness of the commandments of the
Sage;

Forgetting the right, one is led to lethargy [in
conduct],
Which means the violation of orderliness [in
conduct]. (Sn. 815).

(3) Alone, he first carries his search of Truth,
But later, he gets mixed up with the pleasures of sex.
The cart rolls away, having missed the right course*
To which it does not keep, but strays far away.
(Sn. 816)

(4) [Formerly], when seen, a high seat was offered and
honour shown to him;
Character he did lose, and a good name he forgot all;
Having learnt this truth, one must contemplate to
learn
The sexual practices to leave, relinquish and keep off.
(Sn. 817)

(5) Contemplating on sex-pleasures, either good or bad,
And violating good conduct, what is it that he gains?
Having heard reports of good conduct⁶ of the wise,
He becomes sad and morose, thinking of nothing but
self. (Sn. 818).

(6) Always[†] behaving in conformity with the wise,
Rather never getting mixed up, but all alone;

* Cf. San. fragments: *yānam bhrāntam yathā loke hīnamāhuḥ pṛthag-
janam* [JRAS. 1916 p. 711]

6 The Chinese interpretation of the word *nigghosa* as 'good words' seems to be better than that of SnCm. 537, which explains it as 'expostulatory words or words of condemnation,' (*upajjhāyādinaṁ nindā-vacanam*) following Mahāniddesa 1. 151 (on Sn. 818).

† Note that the Chinese translation reverses the order of Sn. 819-820, the latter being given first.

VII

(तिस्समेत्तद्यसुत्तं*)

814 मेथुनमनुयुत्तस्स (इच्छायस्मा तिस्सो¹ मेत्तेय्यो) विधातं ब्रूहि मारिस ।
सुत्वान तव सासनं । विवेके सिक्खिस्सामसे² ॥१॥

815 मेथुनमनुयुत्तस्स (मेत्तेय्या ति भगवा) । मुस्सतेवापि सासनं ।
मिच्छा च पटिप्पज्जति । एतं तर्स्म अनारियं ॥२॥

816 एको पुब्बे चरित्वान । मेथुनं यो निसेवति ।
यानं भन्ते'व तं लोके । हीनमाहु पुथुज्जनं ॥३॥

817 यसो कित्ति³ च या पुब्बे । हायते'वा⁴ पि तस्स सा ।
एतंपि दिस्वा सिक्खेथ । मेथुनं विप्पहातवे ॥४॥

818 सङ्कप्पेहि परेतो सो⁵ कपणो विय भायति ।
सुत्वा परेसं निग्धोसं मङ्ग होति तथाविधो ॥५॥

1 म०-तिस्समेत्तेय्यो. 2 म० Fsb.-सिक्खिसामसे (Metri Causa.) 3 सो० कित्ति. Fsb., निं०-कित्ती. 4 सी०-हायते चापि. 5 Fsb.—यो.

*—अर्थपद ७. For fragments of a surviving Sanskrit version, see JRAS., 1916, pp. 709-732.

816^a cf. Dhp. 222^b.

816^{c-d} cf. Sans. fragment I Obv. line 5 (JRAS. 1916, p. 711)

यानं भ्रान्तं यथा लोके हीन-(माहुः) पृथग्जनम् ।

817^d cf. 926^d. 818^b cf. J. 220^{1d}. 374^{4d}. J. 220^{2d}.

When he gets upset by the pleasures of sex,
 All strength he loses and to exertion he becomes a
 stranger. (Sn. 820)

(7) Man with leaky conduct (漏戒) bristles with
 dangers,

When he is addressed with short⁷ words of reprimand.
 Being already attached, he gets into meshes of a net,
 And then his deceit displays words that are far from
 truth. (Sn. 819)

(8) Seeing the violation [of conduct] as the cause of evil,
 Take no recourse to physical actions that contempt
 evoke;

But carry on with your life that may even be single,
 Take wisdom and practise no pranks of folly. (Sn. 82)

(9) Far [from the world], find a lonely place of shelter,
 Which is considered as the best by those who see the
 Truth.

When you have it, to self-pride give no shelter,
 Though not in actual contact with *Nirvāna*, you are
 quite near. (Sn. 822)

(10) Think and plan of going [from the world] far, far
 away,

With no desire for sensuous pleasures, which get rid
 of, all;

‘From suffering get released’—thus the good men say;
 Because all the worldlings are, in pleasures of sense,
 merged⁸. (Sn. 823)

When the Buddha said this *Arthpada-Sūtra*, the mendicants expressed joy and approbation.

7 Tuan 短, short and so ‘cutting.’ See Chap. III. verse 12.

8 Tan 貪, greedy, merged, engrossed. This is suggested as an emendation for 食 which, though given by all texts, gives no good sense. This may be treated as an instance of one similar character being used for another, which is a very common feature in Chinese Buddhist texts.

819 अथ सत्थानि कुरुते परवादेहि चोदितो ।
एस ख्वस्स महागेधो । मोसवज्जं एगाहति ॥६॥

820 परिड्वितो^१ ति समञ्चातो^२ । एकचरियं अधिद्वितो ।
अथापि मेथुने युक्तो । मन्दो^३ व परिकिस्सति ॥७॥

821 एतमादीनवं अत्वा । मुनि पुब्बापरे इधे ।
एकचरियं दलहं कयिरा^४ । न निसेवेथ मेथुनं ॥८॥

822 विवेकं येव सिक्खेथ । एतदरियानमुक्तमं^५ ।
तेन^६ सेद्वो न^७ मञ्चेथ । स वे निब्बान सन्ति के ॥९॥

823 रित्तस्स^८ मुनिनो चरतो । कामेसु अनपेक्खनो ।
ओघातिष्णस्स पिहयन्ति । कामेसु गथिता^९ पजा^{१०} ति ॥१०॥
तिस्समेत्यसुतं निद्वितं ।

1 म० -पसञ्चातो 2 म०-कयिराथ, करिवाथ. 3 म०-एकचरियानमुक्तमं.
4-4 म०-न तेन सेद्वो. 5 सी०-चित्तस्स, 6 म०-गथिता.

820^a=CV- VII, 4, 8^{2a} (WZKM. XXIV. p. 265).

821^a see 732^a. 821^b=Dut. 61^a. cf. MV. X.3¹⁰. WZKM. XXIV,
p. 249 f.

822^a=Dhp 372^a; Dutr. B 16^a. सो हो निवैनस सतिअ. V. M. I. 6.

823^b=It.45¹⁴. cf. SN. 857^b. also J. 10⁴.

823^d cf. J. 511^{11b}, M^{7a}. III, 314. 12^b, LV. XXV^{20b}. (WZKM.
XXIV. p. 29).

VIII

Eighth Sūtra of the Brahman Yong-tseu (勇辭¹,
Vāgsūra, Bravado)

[T. 179^a-179^o; Sh.60^a-60^b; Su.61^a-61^b; B.i.19^b-21^a]

[1] The Buddha was living in the town of Srāvasti. He was about to complete his three months' stay (of *varṣāvāsa*, Rainy-season retreat). Once upon a time, he was staying in Jetavana, in the pleasure-garden of Anātha-piṇḍada. At that time, house-holders of To-sha (堕沙 vālu kā²?), all together employed a Brahman named Yong-tseu (勇辭) Vāgsūra) to give a challenge to the Buddha and to score a victory over Him. For this, they paid him five hundred gold coins. Once, in the three months, the Brahman recited more than five hundred difficult questions,—questions in which there were different variations—and thought to himself that none could surpass him. When the Buddha finished his three months' [retreat], he, with a crowd of mendicants, wished to go to To-sha country. He preached [to the people] the *sūtras*, as he travelled through the districts. In due course, he did reach the High-View-Place (*Kūṭāgāraśālā*) on the bank of the Monkey-Lake *Markaṭahrada-tīre*) in To-sha.

1 The Sanskrit version of the *sūtra*, says Hoernle, is a translation of some Prakrit original, which differs from Pali version, and that the order of Sn, verses 825-827 is not followed in the same. The portions found in it are very fragmentary and correspond to only fragments of Pali stanzas. The story in SnCm. 538-540 differs from the story given here. For the first character in Yong-tseu (as per T and Sh.), B and Su read 猛 throughout.

2 *To-fall; sha-sand*. This seems to have been used for *vālu kā* in the name *Vālu* (or, *li*)-kārāma of a famous monastery in Vaiśāli. In this monastery, the second Council, according to the Sthavira-vādins, was held hundred years after the death of the Buddha. Watters (ii 73) gives *sha tui* (沙堆) as the Chinese equivalent of this Sand-Heap-Monastery.

3 *Hou-yuan k'i pien kao kuang tien chung* (猴猿溪邊高觀殿中) *Markaṭa-hrada-tīre kūṭāgāra-śālāyām*. For these places well-known in Buddhist literature, see Av. i.8; i.279; Divy. 186 (Chap. XI), 200; Mvu.

[2] The sons of the house-holders soon heard that the Buddha and the Assembly of mendicants had come to their town. They then soon gathered together with other five hundred people. The Brahman said that the Buddha had already come to his country and that early he must put to Him those difficult questions. The Brahman then went along with the sons of house-holders to the Buddha's place, put Him questions of welfare and sat aside. Among the sons of house-holders, were some who paid respects to the Buddha, some who folded their hands before the Buddha, and some who kept silent. All took their seats. The Brahman noted the divine dignity and high sublimity, which was unspeakable. Then the [Brahman] was all fear and consternation, within, and could no more utter any words.

[3] The Buddha knew what the Brahman and the sons of house-holders conspired to do, and then recited this *Arthapada-Sūtra* :—

(1) In what they say, [they contend], is the Pure Law,
which none excells;
The rest have no Law and, in knowledge, cannot
equal them.

i.300. See Malalasekera's excellent article on *Kūṭāgāra-sālā* in his Dictionary of Pali Proper Names (i. 659-661); also Watters ii. 65-66; Cullavagga of Vin Xth chap., Section 2 [Vin. ii 253].

To what they know they cling, and find bliss in the same.

Thinking it to be Truth, they in their wrong doctrine, ground themselves firm. (Sn.824)

(2) A victory they always wish to score in their assemblies,

And words such as 'fools' they pelt at each other, all around;

Original words they forget and put an interpretation, at will,

Mutually asking difficult questions, which the wise had already set. (Sn. 825, except d)

(3) In assemblies, questions he puts, the interpretations to gather,

The explanations of those questions he expects, when his words he has said.

In the assembly, when defeated, irritated he doth get, For, what was hard for him to understand, all the crowd knew so well. (Sn. 826 a,c)

(4) His practices then he begins to doubt:

"My beliefs, no more"—thus he doth repent.

Words get few and his mental illusions he doubts, And wishes his questions, wrong, had not helped [him] aright. (N.C.)

(5) Distressed and grieved that his words [brought] defeat,

He sits uneasy and lies weeping and crying;

His wrong doctrines of old make him his words think over;

"Words bring no victory"—this thought, in his mind, doth roll. (Sn. 827)

(6) Having seen this, his tongue (lit. mouth) to guard, he is inclined,

But, soon, he lets it loose (lit. opens the mouth), which the questions hard had tied (lit. closed),

When he finds that the questions in his mind do a good reception get,

In words which, when uttered, do the [whole] gathering enliven. (Sn. 828, a, c; 829 b, d)

VIII

(पस्त्रसुत्तुं*)

824 इधे व सुद्धि॑ इति वादियन्ति॒ । नाष्टत्रेसु धम्मेसु३ विसुद्धिमाहु ।
यं निस्तिता तत्थ सुभं४ वदाना । पच्चेकसच्चेतु पुथू निविटा ॥१॥

825 ते वादकामा परिसं विगद्ध । वालं दहन्ति५ मिथु अज्ञमज्ञं ।
वदेन्ति६ ते अज्ञसिता कथोज्जं । पसंसकामा कुसला वदाना ॥२॥

826 युक्तो कथार्य७ परिसाय मज्जे । पसंसमिच्छं विनिधाति होति ।
अपाहतस्मि पन मङ्गु होति । निन्दाय सो कुप्पति रन्धमेसी ॥३॥

827 यमस्त वादं परिहीनमाहु । अपाहतं पञ्चवीमंसकासे८ ।
परिदेवति९ सोचति हीनवादो । उपष्ठगा मंति अनुत्थुणाति१० ॥४॥

828 एते विवादा समणेसु जाता । एतेसु उग्धाति११ निधाति११ होति ।
एतंडपि१२ दिस्ता विरमे कथोज्जं । न हञ्जदत्थतिथ पसंसलाभा ॥५॥

829 पसंसितो वा पन तत्थ होति । अक्खाय वादं परिसाय मज्जे ।
सो हस्तति१३ उण्णमतिष्ठ१४ तेन । पपुव्य तमत्थ१५
यथामनो अहु१६ ॥७

1 Fsb.	सी०-सुद्धि (cf. 892 ^a).	2 म०-वादियन्ति	3 म० नज्जेसु.
4 नि०-सुभा.		5 म०-हरन्ति	6 म०, नि०-वदन्ति.
7 सी०-य.		8 म०, Fsb.	सी०-पञ्चवि०, सी०- Fsb. °सकाये.
9 Fsb.	°ती.	10 सी०, म०- Fsb.	°नाति.
12 सी०-एवं.		13 Fsb.	°ती, म०-हंसति.
15 Fsb.	तं अर्थं.	म०-तमत्थ.	11 म०-°टि.
			14 म०-°ती च,
			16 रो०-°हू.

*=अर्थपद द.

824^a cf. 832^b. 824^a + ^b = 892^a + ^b; cf. 813^c. 824^c cf. 910^c.

824, 825 also in प्रश्नापारमिताशास्त्र, Nanjo No. 1169 (Anesaki A.A. O.)

826 cf. Sans. fragment II, obverse, 1. 4 युक्तः कथार्यं (सदसो हि मध्ये)

(7) Words, pleasing and sweet, make his mind joyful
and glad;
Attachment to pleasure and joy, he thinks as
'all-in-all'.
'Exhalting his self' doth mean leakage and fall,
He doth not learn: from what his prosperity will
arise.
When he learns this, he indulgeth not in words,
vain,
[For], from them, no good release can he in any
way obtain. (Sn. 829 a, c; 830)

(8) Relying much on them means a painful course to
adopt,
For, he goes seeking those, on whom he his questions
would try;
With shameless audacity, he doth go and come
To meet some one, with whom he may, forthwith,
dispute. (Sn. 831 a, b)

(9) Embracing a column of darkness, he wishes his
difficulties to clear (日),
The fool holds: 'Wrong you are, ! With us is Truth !'
For flowers (花) you move about, but no fruit you
do see;
Words are given out, but their meaning you must
seek. (Sn. 832 a. b; n. c. to c-d.)

(10) Seeking light, they have left the wrong, far behind,
Conforming to the [real] meaning of the Law,
from mutual hurt, they keep aloof.
From such good men of the Law, O Bravo! what
words do you expect?
They never suffer, like those that are affected by
the good or evil [they do]. (Sn. 833 a-c)

(11) Thinking in mind of the practices followed and
heresies heard,
You came to perceptions which the true thought
expelled;

830 या उण्णति¹ साऽस्स² विवातभूमि । मानातिमानं वदते पनेसो ।
एतंपि दिखा न विवादयेथ । न हि तेन सुद्धि³ कुसला वदन्ति ॥७॥

831 सूरो यथा राजस्वादाय पुट्टो⁴ । अभिगज्जमेति पटिसूरमिच्छ ।
येनेव सो तेन पलेहि⁵ सूर⁶ । पुष्टे च नतिथ यदिदं युधाय ॥८॥

832 ये दिट्ठिमुग्धह विवादियन्ति⁷ । इदमेव सच्चंति च वादियन्ति ।
ते त्वं वदस्सु⁸ न हि ते ध⁹ अतिथ । वादम्ह जाते पटिसेनिकत्ता ॥९॥

833 विसेनिकत्वा पन ये चरन्ति¹⁰ । दिट्ठीहि दिट्ठं अविरुद्धमाना ।
तेसु त्वं किं¹¹ लमेथो¹² पसूर¹³ । येसीध नतिथ¹⁴ परमुग्धीतं¹⁵ ॥१०

1 Fsb. °ती. 2 म०-सास, तस्स. 3 म०-सुद्धि. 4 म०-फुट्रो. 5 म०-पलेति.
6 म०- सूर, पुर. 7 म०-विवादयन्ति. 8 म०-चरस्सु. 9 म०-°च. 10 म०-वदन्ति.
11 म०-किर. 12 म०-लमेथ. 13 म०-समुद. 14 Fsb. नतीथी.
15 म०-परम°.

830° cf. 896°. 830^d=909^d S. VI. I. 1. 9. 17¹⁰ (1. 169).

832^a cf. 381^a, 390^a. 832^a +^b cf. 895^a +^b. 832 cf. 780^a-^b.

832^b cf. 824^a. 832^d cf. 390^a. 833^a cf. 1078^a.

833°. cf. Sans. fragment II, reverse, 1. 3, (JRAS. pp. 713-14).

तेषान्नु किं त्वं वदसीह (शू)र.

[Now] with the Great Captain, you have come to
be, truly, in league.
Who surpassing fire-flies⁴, over-all will [surely]
shine⁵. (Sn. 834 a-c)

Thus the Buddha concluded the *Arthapada-sūtra*, and the mendicants expressed joy and approbation.

IX

The Ninth Sūtra of Mākandika's¹ Daughter
[T.180^a-180^c; Sh.60^b-61^a; Su.61^b-62^b; B.i.21^a-23^b]

[1] The Buddha was living in the country of the Kurus (Kiu-liu 句留) at a place called Kalmāṣadharma (悉作法)².

4 Cf. Pali *khajjopanaka*; *Titthiyā Syriyuggamane khajjopanaka-sadisā ahesum* [DhpCm. iii. 178] also see Ud. vi. 10, p. 73, which uses the word *kimi* in the following:

Obhāsati tāvā so kimi yāva na unnamati pabhañkaro.

Also, *Tāvadavabhāsate krimir yāvan nodayate divākaraḥ* [Divy. 163]

5 In this sūtra, it will be noticed, there are several stanzas which agree with the Pali, only in part. Some lines agree, while others in the same stanza are quite different. We fail to find anything corresponding to the famous simile in the Suttanipāta 831—*Sūro yathā rājakhādāya puṭṭho*.

1. The Sanskrit name is Mākandika (Divy. 515-521), for which Pali has Māgandiya. See SnCm. 542ff.; DhpCm. i.199-209; iii.193 (on Dhp. 179-80); UdCm; 383ff. Fragments of a surviving Sanskrit version of this sūtra are found; for which see Hoernle, JRAS. 1916 pp. 709-732. The Sanskrit fragment has rather a long introduction in prose. It reads Māgandika. The comic story of an ascetic from Mākandikā as given in the Kathāsaritsāgara (Tawney-Panzer. The Ocean of Story, ii. 4-5) is quite different. The story of Māgandiya Paribbājaka as given in the Majjhimanikāya (No. 75) is also different. In that sūtra there is a discussion about *ārogya* and *Nibbāna*. Rhys Davids in his Dialogues of the Buddha, i. pp. 220-221, says that this sect is “quite un-intelligible at present.” Cf. Beal, pp. 158-160 (section XXXIII) for a similar story, where the name of the Brahman is Su-Nakṣatra.

2 Pali has Kammāsadhamma, as well as Kammāsadamma as an alternate reading. Kammāsa is the name of a man-eating ogre

834 अथ तं पवित्रक्षमागमा¹ । मनसा दिद्विगतानि विन्तयन्तो ।
 धोनेन युगं समागमा । न हि त्वं सग्धसि² सम्प्यातवे ॥११॥
 पसूरसुत्तं निद्वितं ।

1 म०-सवित्रक्^०.

2 सी०-परधसि, म०-आगधसि, नि०-सक्षसि.

834^a cf. VV. 83^a. Par Dip. IV. 325 (VII. 9^a) लच्छसि² = P. V. II
 5. J. 449^a. लच्छसि, Dutr. A. p. 14).

At that time, a Brahman named Mākandika (Mo-yin-t'i 摩因提) had a daughter begotten by him. She was beautiful, good-looking and peerless³. Later, [when she was grown up], kings, crown-princes, ministers and other respectable people came to seek her [in marriage]. The father did not agree to any [of the proposals], thinking that he would get a suitable match for her and give her to him as his wife.

[2] The Buddha was, at that time, wandering about in the district, seeking food, with begging-bowl in his hand. When he finished taking food, he washed his begging-bowl, and kept it safe. He came out of the town, went to a place of retirement in a grove and sat there. Mākandika, after meal, started on his way to the pleasure-garden. On the way, he passed through the grove. He then saw the Buddha with his gold-coloured body, possessing thirty-two signs of a great man, and shining with all majesty like the sun and the moon. He then thought to himself: "On comparing my daughter with the Honoured One, [I find] she is a befitting match for this person."

[3] Then he returned home and said to his wife: "My dear (lit. O, Mother of my daughter⁴), do you know that a desirable [bridegroom] has been found. Now, we have a son-in-law better than our daughter. The mother heard this and became glad. She then ornamented her [daughter] with jewellery and other precious things. The parents took [with them] their daughter, out of the town. The mother noticed the distinctly appearing lines of the Buddha's foot-impression and said to her husband

(*porisādo*). The former is explained [DCm. ii. 488] as *Kammāso ettha dhamme* (i.e. *Kuruvatta-dhamme*) *jāto'ti Kammāsādhammam*. The Kuru country has been always supposed to be a specially favoured country where all people follow the highest code of conduct. The Chinese text gives this interpretation (All-practise-Dharma). The other interpretation [DCm. ii. 488] is *Kammāso ettha damito'ti Kammāsādhammam*, the place where the ogre Kammāsa, or better known as Kammāsapāda, was subjugated. This seems to be the better reading of the two. See also D. ii. 290, note 1. For the story of 'Kalmāṣapāda and its Revolution in Indian Literature,' see the excellent study of Dr. Watanabe in JPTS 1909.

3 Divy. 515 gives *Anūpamā*.

4 See note 5 on the next page.

(lit, father of the daughter⁵): “Do you know that we have at last come out in vain? We shall not get the son-in-law.” “Why?” The wife replied in a *gāthā*:-

(1) A man in love drags his heels as he walks,
One with hatred walks with the [foot]-fingers
shrunk⁶,

5 Note the interesting Chinese expression used for the husband and wife, while addressing each other.

6 Note SnCm. 544 and Vis. III. 88 read:

Rattassa hi ukkuṭikāṇ padāṁ bhave duṭṭhassa hoti anukaddhitāṇ padāṁ mūlhassa hoti sahasā'nu pīlitāṇ vivittacchadassa idamīdisāṇ padāṁ.
DhpCm.i. 201 has however, *sahasā'nu pīlitāṇ* for *anukadḍhitāṇ* *padāṁ* in the second *pāda*, and *avakadḍhitāṇ* *padāṁ* for *sahasā'nu pīlitāṇ* as here in the third *pāda*. The Sanskrit fragment supports the latter [JRAS. 1916, p. 714] and associates *avakṛṣṭa-śayyā* with *raktasya*. Divy. 527 reads:-

*Raktasya puṁsaḥ padamutpaṭaṇ (vl. 'mutkaṭaṇ) syāt
nipiditaṇ dveṣavataḥ padaṇ ca
padāṁ hi mūḍhasya visṛṣṭadehaṇ
suvitardgasya padaṇ tvihedṛśaṇ.*

The Chinese, here, seems to agree with none of these versions. The first two cases are exchanged here. The Pali equivalent of the Chinese will be

*Rattassa hoti anukadḍhitāṇ padāṁ
duṭṭhassa hi ukkuṭikāṇ padāṁ bhave.*

And the fool presses his feet on the ground.
 But these marks are left by One, who is honoured by
 gods and men. (Sn.Cm. 544
 Vis. 3.88 para.; Divy. 517)

The father said: "O, you stupid, don't you bother yourself for your daughter. The girl must get a husband [lit. son-in-law]." Then he took his daughter and went to the place of the Buddha. With his left hand, he held her by the arm and took, in his right hand, the water-jar (瓶 *bhringāra*, or Pali *bhīṅkāra*) and said thus to the Buddha: "To-day, I offer you my daughter, who can become your wife." The daughter saw the figure of the Buddha, handsome and good-looking, unparalleled, his body possessing the ornaments of thirty-two signs and [shining] like the bright-moon jewel (明月珠). Then she felt passion for the Buddha.

[4] The Buddha knew her mind burning with [passion] like fire. The Buddha said, immediately, this *Arthapada-sūtra*:—

(2) "Formerly, I saw three wicked women—
 Discontent, Evil attachment and Sex-passion.
 Now why is here brought [this store of] fesces and
 urine,
 Which, even with my foot, I won't like to touch? 1
 (Sn. 835.)

(3) Sexual passion and discontent referred to by me,
 And irreligious practices, as well, I find no more in me.
 The evil though I am aware of, disgust I have not
 yet felt;

Until it settles within, countless suffering will there
 be. 2 (N. C.)

(4) Beautiful to look at, and covered with sinews and
 skin,
 [Is this body]; but how can the sage accept it?
 They who practise enlightenment and insight, within
 and without,
 And who are on the side of wisdom style it as nothing
 but foolish. 3. (N. C.)

IX

(मागन्दियसुत्तं*)

835 दिस्वान तण्डु अरति^१ रगं च । नाहोसि छन्दो अपि मेथुनस्मि ।
किमेविदं मुक्तकरीसपुण्णं । पादाऽपि न सम्फुसितुं न इच्छे ॥१॥

836 यत्तदिसं चे रतनं न इच्छसि । नारिं नरिन्देहि बहूहि परितं ।
दिट्ठिगत^२ सीलवतानुजीवितं । भवपूपतिं च वदेसि कीदिसं ॥२॥

837 इदं वदामी ति न तस्स होति (मागन्दिया ति भगवा) ।
धर्मेसु निच्छेय्य समुगहीतं ।
पसं च दिट्ठीसु अनुग्रहाय । अज्ञातसन्ति^३ पचिनं^४ अदस्सं^५ ॥३॥

838 विनिच्छया^६ यानि पक्षपितानि (इति मागन्दियो) ।
ते वे^७ मुनि^८ ब्रूसि^९ अनुग्रहाय ॥
अज्ञातसन्ती ति यमेतमत्थं । कथं तु धीरेहि पवेदितं तं ॥४॥

1 म०-अरति च रागं, नि०-अरतिं च रागं. 2 Fsb. दिट्ठी०. 3 सी, म०-अज्ञातं सन्ति (cf. 919). 4 म०-पविचिनं. 5 म०-अहसं. 6 म०-विनच्छ-यानि. 7 सी०-चे. 8 Fsb. -मुनी.

*=अर्थपद ६ ; and also in प्रज्ञापारमिताशास्त्र, Nanjio no. 1169; see note on Chin.

835=Mpu. 269^a, Dutr.A, p. 102^a, 441^a. Oldenberg. ZDMG. 52 p. 662, cf. Divy. p. 519. 837^b see 785^b.

838^a see. 839^a+^b+^c. 838^b cf. 1081^c, 839^a. For विनिच्छया see 887^c.

(5) Neither by what is seen, or heard, or known⁷,
 Nor by rites and rituals can purity be attained;
 Neither by the absence of what is seen, or heard, or
 known,
 Nor by non-observance of rituals can self-purity be
 gained.
 Leaving far such thoughts, by giving no shelter to
 them,
 Life (有) one may not applaud, but guard, instead,
 the actions of tongue (lit. mouth. 4

(Sn. 839 except f.)

(6) "If by giving up (?) * five corruptions like what is
 heard or seen,
 Or by wisdom, rites and rituals, no purity may one
 expect (望),
 Nor, by non-entertaining heresies in the world, nor
 by ignorance,
 Nor by the absence of rites and rituals, can that
 designation [of purity] one attain,
 This, I deem, is falling into [the deep pit of] darkness:
 'That who-so-ever wants Purity can have it through
 heresies [alone]'" 5 (Sn. 840.)

(7) "Ask, as you do, about Truth in what is heard or
 seen,
 The Truth, mentally conceived, you take as conform-
 ing to the Path;
 [The Truth] you may have approached, but hardly
 have discerned⁸.
 How then with your words (lit. mouth 口) can you
 play false to the Saint? 6 (Sn. 841.)

7 We think that the last three characters in the first and third *pādas* in the Chinese text need to be exchanged.

According to Lévi, *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* (1st chap. Tok. XX, 1, 13a) cites the question of Mākandīka (Mo-k'un-ti) in the *Sūtra A-t'o-p'o ki-king* which corresponds to Sn. 837-840, but on reference to Taisho edition of the same, vol. XXXV (No. 1509) p. 63c, col. 14 — p. 64a, col. 9, we find that it rather corresponds to Sn. 838-41. It will also be noticed that the Chinese translation has no verses corresponding to Sn. 836-838, but substitutes for these three, only two verses, which are altogether different.

§ We should expect 'by being given over to.'

8 See Chap. V, note 6. Verses 5-7 are not quite clear.

839 न दिद्विया न सुतिया न आणेन (मागन्दिया ति भगवा) ।

सीलब्बतेनापि न^१ सुद्धिमाह^२ ।

अदिद्विया अस्सुतिया^३ अञ्जाणा^४ । असीलता अब्बता नोऽपि तेन ।

पते च^५ निस्सज्ज^६ अनुगग्नाय । सन्तो अनिस्साय भवं न जप्ये ॥५॥

840 नो चे किर दिद्विया न सुतिया न आणेन (इति मागन्दियो) ।

सीलब्बतेनापि विसुद्धिमाहु ।

अदिद्विया अस्सुतिया अञ्जाणा । असीलता अब्बता नोऽपि तेन ।

मञ्ज्रेमंहं^७ मोमुहमेव धम्मं । दिद्विया एके पञ्चेन्ति सुद्धिं ॥६॥

841 दिद्विः^८ च निस्साय अनुपुच्छमानो (मागन्दिया ति भगवा) ।

समुगग्नीतेसु प्रमोहमागा^९ ।

इतो च नादक्षिक^{१०} अणुऽपि सञ्चयं । तस्मा तुवं मोमुहतो दहासि^{११} ॥७॥

1 म०-विसुद्धि, म०-न सुद्धि

2 सी०- °माहा

3 म०, प०-असुतिया.

4 Fsb. अञ्जाणा.

5 म०-न,

६म०- निस्सज्ज.

7 म०, Fsb.-मञ्ज्रामंहं.

8 नि०-दिद्वीसु.

9 सी०-सम्मोह, ° म०-ममोहमा- गमा, पमोहमागमा.

10 रो०-नादक्षिक.

11 म०-रहासि, दक्षासि, दस्ससि.

839^a = 1078^a. 839^a + ^b + ^c cf. 887^a + ^b. 829^a + ^b cf. 1081^b + ^c.

840^{a-d} see 839^{a-d}. 840f = 908^b. cf. 800^a. 840^{a-f} cf. Sans. fragment IV, Reverse (JRAS. pp. 716-18) 1. 1 मन्दोऽप्यहं मोमुह(ह) एव धर्मो

[द]श्चिदहै[के]प्र(ति)[या]न्ति शुद्धिः[म्].

841^c cf. 802^b

(8) 'Equal, or superior, or not even one's equal'—
To such notions, when attached, the discrimination
doth one make;
But in the absence of these three, what dispute can
there be?
All such [notions] he has cut off, and will it not
therefore, in vain, be? 7 (Sn. 842.)

(9) 'Here is the Truthful!'—how can one thus
proclaim?
'To the void he has clung!'—such dispute who
can raise?
'Right or wrong'—all such [judgment] he has
ended.
In what words, then, can you his shortcomings (短)
declaim? 8 (Sn. 843)

(10) The ocean of craving he gives up, and into the
unthinkable he doth pass;
Into the country, with dexterity, endurance doth he
practise;
From craving released, no undue regard (念想)
[for any] doth he cherish,
All the worldly poisons he has vanquished, and will
not [again] be born. 9 (Sn. 844 a, c.)

(11) All the world over, he wandered, seeking suffering
(苦) to destroy,
From all dispute was the Saint free, not joining
issues with any;
Like the water-lotus, that is pure and devoid of mud,
And unsullied by particles, thick, of filth and mire;
Quiescent is the Sage, who from lust is all free,
With no attachments for the world or its pleasures
that may be. 10 (Sn. 845.)

(12) No conceived notions he permits to roll in his mind,
He moves like the Released, and from consciousness
all freed;

842 समो विसेसी उद वा निहीनो¹ । यो मङ्गति सो विवदेय तेन ।
तीसु विधासु अविकम्पमानो । समो विसेसी ति न तस्य होति ॥८॥

843 सम्भव्यति सो ब्राह्मणो किं वदेद्य । मुसाति वा सो विवदेय केन ।
यस्मिं समं विसमं चाऽपि नत्यि । सो केन वादं पटिसंयुजेद्य ॥९॥

844 ओकं पहाय अनिकेतसारी । गामे अकुञ्जं मुनि सन्धवानि ।
कामेहि रित्तो अपुरेक्खरानो² । कथं न⁴ विग्रह्य जनेन कथिरा ॥१०॥

845 येहि विविसो विचरेद्य लोके । न तानि उग्राद्य वदेद्य नागो ।
एलम्बुजं कण्टकं⁵ वारिजं यथा । जलेन पङ्क्वेन चानूपलित्तं ।
एवं मुनो सन्तिवादो अगिद्धो । कामे च लोके च अनूपलित्तो ॥११॥

1 म०-विहीनो. 2 म०, नि०-वाऽपि. 3 म०-अपुरेक्खमानो. 4 सी०, नि०-नु.
5 म०-कण्टकं.

842=S. I. 2. 10. 20 (I. 12)

842° cf. S. N. 799, 918. S. XXII. 76. 12th. (III. 849). Thag. 1076⁴.

844=S. XXII. 3, 3=3. 26 (III. 9+12). quoted from here in Chinese Samyuktāgama (VI. 4. 6) and in Sarvāstivāda Vinaya (Anesaki A. A. O). 845 °-I see 812.

In none of the three⁹ actions merged, doth he move
about,

And the three Realms of life he gives up, which he
commends to none. 11 (Sn. 846.)

(13) With no perceptions—which he has relinquished—
fetters he has none.

Delivered as he is by wisdom, no delusions doth he
harbour;

Heresies and perceptions he has curbed, and to the
rest he never clings,

With all clamour being disgusted, over the three
realms he walks about. 12 (Sn. 847; c,d,g,a.)

When the Buddha concluded this *Arthapada-sūtra*, the men-
dicants expressed their joy and approbation.

X

*The Tenth Sūtra about the Heretics' Quarrel and Fight**

[T.180^c-181^c; Sh.61^a-62^a; Su. 62^b164^a; B.i.23^b-28^a]

[1] Thus have I heard. The Buddha was living in the Bamboo-forest (Venuvana, Pali *veluvana*), a resort of many birds,¹ in Rājagr̥ha. He was, being entertained by the King, great ministers, and people, being offered food, clothing, lodging, medical and other requisites. At that time, there were six Brahman [Teachers] that were honoured by all people [lit. world], namely: Pūrṇa Kāśyapa², Gośāla, the follower of

9 Three actions of body, tongue and mind.

* For this chapter, see Divy. 148-166 (XIIth story) which is a later amplified version. Also see *Avadānaśataka*, xiith chap., *Prātihāryāvadāna*, (vol. i, pp. 83-87).

1 See note 1 in Chap. VII.

2 These six heretic teachers are very famous in Buddhist literature. The transliterations of some of these names given here are very strange and do not agree with those given elsewhere as in Mvy. etc. It is difficult to learn how the transliteration given here of Vairāṭi or Belaṭṭhi, Pakudha or Kakuda can present the required sounds. There is however, no doubt about the identification of these names.

846 न वेदगू दिद्धिया¹ न मुतिया । स मानमेति न हि तम्मयो सो ।
 न कम्मना नोऽपि सुतेन नेष्यो । अनूपनीतो सो निवेसनेत्तु ॥१२॥

847 सङ्घाधिरक्षस्स न सन्ति गन्धा । पङ्घाधिमुक्तस्स न सन्ति मोहा ।
 सङ्घवं च दिद्धिं च ये अग्गहेतुं । ते घट्यन्ता² विचरन्ति लोके ॥१३॥

—

मागन्दियसत्तं निद्धितं ।

1 म०-दिद्धियाको, म०, Cm-दिद्धियायको.

2 म०-घट्यमाना, घरमाना.

Maskarin (Pali, Makkhali, Mo-kie-li 麻 刻 粟), Sañjaya, the son of Vairāṭi (Pali, Belaṭṭhīputta, Kiu-to-lo-che-tse 鮑 豐 瞳 知 子), Ajita Keśa-kambali, Pakudha or Kakuda (Lo-wei-sa (羅 謂 豪) Kātyāyana and Nirgranth (Pali Niganṭha) the son of Jñāṭṭi family. These six teachers, alone with others, were discussing in their Assembly-Hall³ as follows: "We were formerly entertained and honoured by the King and people. Why are we abandoned and no longer entertained? The ascetic Gautama and his disciples, on the contrary, are worshipped by all. The son of the Sākyā family, we deem, is still very young and not very learned. How can he vanquish us? Let us have a trial and find who is stronger or weaker. If Gautama performs one miracle, we shall perform two. If Gautama performs sixteen, we shall perform thirty-two. We will have any way double [the number]."

[2] Then, all of them went to King Bimbisāra's trusted counsellors and great ministers, and said: "We shall thank you very much, if you convey [to His Majesty] the idea of our proposed miraculous feats." The great ministers then conveyed the same to the King. The King grew very angry to hear this, gave instructions to the ministers and returned home. All the Brahmans suddenly realised that the Buddha alone was paid respects. They then went to the King's palace, submitting an application giving the details about the miracle. The King then grew angry with the six Honoured Teachers and reprimanded them. The King, who already had an insight into the Truths and had realised in himself the Fruits, could not have faith in what the heretics would do. The King said to the ministers "You will, immediately, expell these Brahmans outside the limits of my country." The Brahmans were sent in exile.

3 Kiang-t'ang (講 堂)—Discussion-Hall, Assembly-Hall. Pali has often the term *santhāgāra*. See note on this word in III, 2 and later, Chap. XVI, Shu-kia-li [T. 189a-17-18, B. ii. 28a 7]. Divy. 148 has *kutuhalaśāla*.

[3] Then they all went to the country of Srāvasti. Having finished his teaching in Rājagrīha, the Buddha [also] started on his tour, from place to place, and in due course, came to Jetavana in Srāvasti, with the mendicants. The Brahmans could not endure the sight of the Buddha getting honour and hospitality. Then all the Six Teachers met and in all their dignity went, accompanied by the heretics, to the palace of King Prasenajit (Pali, Pasenadi, Po-sse-ni (波私匿) and told him fully about the miracles. The King acquiesced in their request. He then rode his chariot and went to the place of the Buddha. He touched the feet of the Buddha with his head and face, and sat aside. With his hands folded, he requested the Buddha: "O Blessed One, let your profound virtues be displayed in the form of miracles, never heard of, nor seen before. They will produce faith in the minds [of people] and create full understanding [in them.] It will silence the babbling heretics." The Buddha said to the King: "After the lapse of seven⁴ days, I shall perform the miracle." When the King heard this, he became very glad. He went round the Buddha three times, and went away.

[4] When that day dawned, they prepared ten times ten-thousand seats. Pūrṇa and the rest also prepared a hundred thousand seats [for rest]. At that time all the inhabitants of Srāvasti came out, and left the city empty to see the Buddha perform the miracles. At that time, each of the Brahmans took a seat. The King got up from his seat and said to the Buddha: "O Blessed one, take a seat and exhibit a miraculous feat." At that time, Pañcika⁵, the Chief of the Spirits, just came to pay his respects to the Buddha. He heard that the Brahmans wished to compete with the Buddha.

4 See Divy. 150: "Itah saptame divase Tathāgato . dvi-prātihār-yam vidarsayiyati." For the account of this Double Miracle, see also DhPcm, iii. 190-230 (an elaboration of Cullavagga, v. 8); Burlingame iii. 41ff.; Jā. No. 483, (iv. 263-67); also Mahāvastu iii. 115, 410.

5 P'an-she-kuei tsiang kiun (般識鬼將軍) Pañciko Mahā-senapati (Divy. 163); also Pañcikasya Yaksasenāpateh (Divy. 163); also see Bhaiṣajya vastu, (p. 24) edited by Dr. N. Dutt, in Gilgit MSS. vol. iii, part i.

He then caused a shower of hail and storm⁶, drenched their seats, and further sent down a shower of sand and gravel, which reached their knees and chests. The Buddha then displayed small feats of miracles. He caused fire to come out from his seat and the flames blazed in all the eight directions. Pūraṇa and the rest saw the Buddha's seat in flames. So they were glad to think that it was *their* power which could produce it. The Buddha, having exhibited his magic feat, stopped those flames. The Brahmans [then] realised that it was not done by *their* miraculous power. They were sad and disconsolate.

[5] The Buddha then got up from his Lion's seat. In the midst [of the crowd], there was one female lay-disciple* who possessed the magic power. With her hands folded, she said to the Buddha: "O, Blessed One, You need not be bothered with the performance of miracles. I may as well compete with the heretics in displaying the miracles." "You need not," replied the Buddha, "you may take your seat. I myself will display the miracles." A poor lay-disciple⁷, only a srotāpanna [one who has reached the first stage on the Buddhist Path], a lady who had become a śrāmaṇerī (a female novice) called by the name Utpalavarnā (of lotus colour) and Maudgalyāyana (Pali Moggallāna, Mu-kien-lan, 目犍蘭) went to the Buddha and said: "O Blessed One, do not take the bother of performing the miracles; we would like to compete [with the Teachers]". The Buddha said: "No need; you may go back to your seats. I myself will perform the miracle". The Buddha [further] thought: I wish all people attain merit and happy mode of life (P. phāsu-vihāra, 安隱) I have compassion for all gods and men. I shall make them attain Deliverance. Further, when I defeat the Brahman teachers, the later generations (後世) of my followers under training will get wiser and my doctrine (lit. Path) will, in time to come, be firmly established."

6 Divy. 163: vātavarṣam ..aśanivarṣam.

* Cf. DhpCm. iii. 209ff.—Gharanī nāma iddhimantā.

7 *Oulla-Anāthapindiko...mādise andagāmi-upāsake vijjamāne...* (Dhp Cm iii. 210),

[6] The Buddha then performed the miracle, flew up immediately from his Lion's seat, went to the eastern direction of the sky and walked, sat down cross-legged, reclined to the right side, worked the Fire-device (P. t e j o - k a s i n a s a m ā p a t t i v a s e n a, Dhp.Cm. iii.214)—concentration, and emanated rays of five colours. All of them produced a multi-coloured [mass]. From the lower part of his body, he gave out fire, and from the upper water; from the upper part, he gave out fire, and from the lower water. Then, immediately, he disappeared, until he appeared again in the southern direction. Again, he disappeared, until he came up from the west. Again, he disappeared until he stood up in the air (lit. sky), in the northern direction. He performed the miracles thus as said above. He sat in the air. From each of his shoulders emerged one *śatapatra*⁸ lotus. Out of his head came a *sahasrapatra*⁸ lotus. On each lotus there was a Buddha sitting in meditation. Bright light radiated in all the ten directions. The gods, moreover, showered, from the air, flowers on the Buddha. All said "Excellent!" The Buddha performed the miracle, touching all the ten directions. Then the Buddha withdrew the miracle and returned to his Lion's seat.

[7] At that time, the Brahman [teachers] remained silent. Disconsolate, they all cast down their heads. Like the bird *kiu* 鷗* (*ulūka*?) they lay drowsy. At that time, he

8 For these words which mean 'a lotus of hundred petals' and 'a lotus of thousand petals,' see Mvy. 6188, 6190.

* It is not clear what bird is meant here by the character 鷗. Is it perhaps an owl? Mvy. 4896 gives another character for *ulūka*? Ordinarily, this character means a dove or a pigeon, *kapota*, and Mvy. 4900 gives this as the second of the two characters given for the same. But cf. M.i. 834, Nid 149-50 (on Sn. 818): *Yathā ulūko rukkha-sākhāyām mūsikam magayamāno jhāyati pajjhāyati nijjhāyati avajjhāyati, yathā koṭṭhu naditire macche magayamāno..., yathā bilāro...mūsikam..., yathā gadrabho...avajjhāyati...*

took the iron weapon called Ho-yit (和夷), flew in the air, and exhibited terribly flickering flames. This was just to let the Brahmans see the [miracle]. As soon as it was shown, the witnesses, being very much afraid, began to shiver. Their hair (lit. covering of hair) [on the body] stood erect.⁹ Each of them, in turn, hastened away. The Buddha then sent down a shower of religious teaching on the crowds of people, giving them talks on charity, conduct, heaven, disadvantages of passions, their lowness and corruptive nature (lit. painful nature and lack of solidity¹⁰.) The Buddha then with his wise thoughts knew that the minds of the people were firm and not shaky. He then preached to them the Four Truths. Among the crowd, there were people who had taken refuge in the Buddha, in the Dharma, and the Assembly of the Buddhist mendicants. , or who had paid for a long time homage [to the Buddha, etc.], or who had accepted the rules of conduct, or who had just entered the Stream (keu-kiang 溝港), or those who were often¹¹ to return to this world, or those who never returned to this world.

[8] At that time, there were people who had this thought and doubt as to why one has to abandon family for [the attainment of] the Path. Further, there were quarrels and disputes. The Buddha then knew that the people had doubts. Then he created a double of himself, well-set in front of him, having thirty-two signs of a great man and wearing religious garb. The disciples also are able to create doubles. [But] when the doubles created by them spoke, the disciples also spoke. When, [however], the Buddha spoke, the doubles created by them remained silent, and when this double spoke, the Buddha

† Is this used for *asani* or *vajra*?

9 See above Chapter I, para 5, Note* on p. 140.

10 See above Chapter I, para 4, note 5.

11 P'in (頻), often. This is not in keeping with Pali *sakadāgāmi* (S. *sakṛdāgāmi*), which means 'one who comes only once,' while the Chinese expression here means 'one who comes often' (*asakṛcdāgāmi*). How can this discrepancy be explained?

remained silent.¹² Why was it so? Because right understanding straightly leads on to right thoughts.

[9] Then the created double put his right knee on the earth, folded his hands before the Buddha and in gāthās put questions to Him, [which were answered by the Buddha] :—

(1) “Quarrels and disputes—from where do they arise,
Along with grief and lamentation and mutual
jealousy as well?

12 See Divy. 166— “Yam khalu śrāvako nirmitam abhinirmimite,
yadi śrāvako bhāṣate abhinirmito’ pi bhāṣate, śrāvake tūṣṇibhūte nirmito’
pi tūṣṇi bhavati. The Chinese translation exchanges śrāvaku and
abhinirmita and it is equivalent to ‘yadi abhinirmito bhāṣate, śrāvako’
pi bhāṣate. Further Divy. 166 has

*Ekasya bhāṣamāṇasya bhāṣante sarvanirmitāh
Ekasya tūṣṇīmbhūtasya sarve tūṣṇīm bhavanti te.*

This verse has been quoted in Sphuṭārthā-Abhidharmaśāvayākhyā, p. 27
(Bib. Buddhica, on Kārikā 10). Also see Samanta-pāśādikā, iii. 579.

False words and words of slander that are mutually exchanged—

From what source do they arise, I beg of the Buddha to say.” (Sn. 862, ab; c,d, S.D.)

(2) “When there are things beloved there arise quarrels and fights,

Griefs and lamentations as well as jealousies that are mutual,

Words of slander that are exchanged and words that are false.

[So] from mutual slander do originate quarrels and disputes.” (Sn. 863.)

(3) “Things beloved—what are they due to?

So also greeds that in the world strut about?

By the stopping of what [things], will expectations be no more,*

So that, to the worldly life, there will be no more return?” (Sn. 864.)

(4) “These dear ones exist because of passionate longing, Favouring the springing up of suffering in this world, The perfection* of expectations doth arise from them, And hence are returns to the lives here-after.”

(Sn. 865.)

(5) “Pursuit of wordly longings—wherein does it rise?

From what do you get the discrimination of good from evil?

* At both these places 有 is used and so the exact meaning, it is difficult to get. In the first case, along with the character pu 不 that follows, we have taken it to mean 'not existing.' In the second case, we take the word in the sense of *bhava*, which is often explained as *samiddhi*, perfection, which is the same as Pali *niṭṭhā*. This word *niṭṭhā* has also the double sense of 'conclusion or end' and 'perfection.' The Chinese in both the places seems to take the reading as 'āsāya niṭṭhā ca kuto nidānā?', explaining it in one place as 'end' and at another place as 'perfection,' which appears to be inconsistent.

Chin. X = Pali XI

(कलहविवादसुत्तं*)

862 कुतो पहूता कलहा विवादा । परिदेवसोका सह मच्छरा च ।
मानातिमाना सह पेसुणा च । कुतो पहूता ते तदिङ्ग ब्रूहि ॥१॥

863 पिया पहूता¹ कलहा विवादा । परिदेवसोका सह मच्छरा च ।
मानातिमाना सह पेसुणा च । मच्छरिययुक्ता कलहा विवादा ।
विवादजातेसु च पेसुणानि ॥२॥

864 पिया सु लोकस्मि कुतोनिदाना । ये वाऽपि लोभा विचरन्ति लोके ।
आसा च निटा च कुतोनिदाना । ये सम्परायाय नरस्स होन्ति ॥३॥

865 छन्दानिदानानि पियानि लोके । ये वाऽपि लोभा विचरन्ति लोके ।
आसा च निटा च इतोनिदाना । ये सम्परायाय नरस्स होन्ति ॥४॥

। म०-पियपहूता.

*=अर्थपद १०. (Anesaki, A. A. O). It will be noticed that from here the serial number of Chapters in Chinese translation is different from that in Pali.

What is it that exists from which we have appearance
and disappearance (本末)?

How is one restrained by the rules that the Ascetic
has proclaimed?" (Sn. 866.)

(6) "Whatever is pleasant¹³ or unpleasant in this
world—

Because of this there arises the pursuit of longings.
Seeing how things in the world flourish and decay,
The man of the world begins to have his discrimina-
tions all.

(Sn. 867.)

(7) [Falsehood] that is produced from fraud, and
questioning mind—

These their appearance make, when this pair [of the
pleasant and unpleasant] exists;

The questioner may learn (學) of Wisdom's Path,
Wishing to understand the Law by the Enlightened
One taught. (Sn. 868.)

(8) "The pleasant and unpleasant—from what do they
arise?

How will they disappear, of their supporters being
bereaved?

Their appearance and disappearance, which are the
highest matter (—義),—

I beg of you to make me understand their fountain-
source." (Sn. 869.)

(9) "The pleasant and the unpleasant are to contacts due;
Away, they pass and vanish, if contact does not exist.
Their appearance and disappearance [滅] are a
matter due to this;

Understand thus the Sage, who their appearance and
disappearance did explain." (Sn. 870.)

13 All the texts read 所有, but we think it to be a mistake for
所欲, which would give a sense agreeing with Pali *sātam*, pleasant.
The same emendation is necessary in the following stanzas: 8a, 11b.

866 छन्दो तु लोकस्मिं कुतोनिदानो । विनिच्छया वाऽपि कुतो पद्धता ।
कोधो मोसवज्जं च कथंकथा च । ये वाऽपि धर्मा समणेन वृत्ता ॥५॥

867 सातं असातं ति यमादु लोके । तमूपनिस्साय पहोति छन्दो ।
रूपेसु दिस्वा विभवं भवं च । विनिच्छयं कुरुते जन्तु लोके ॥६॥

868 कोधो मोसवज्जं च कथंकथा च । एतेऽपि धर्मा द्वयमेव सन्ते ।
कथंकथो व्याणपथाय सिक्षे । अत्वा पवृत्ता समणेन धर्मा ॥७॥

869 सातं असातं च कुतोनिदाना । किस्मं असन्ते न भवन्ति हेते ।
विभवं भवं चापि यमेतमत्थं । एतं मे पब्रूहि यतोनिदानं ॥८॥

870 फस्सनिदानं¹ सातमसातं । फस्से असन्ते न भवन्ति हेते ।
विभवं भवं चापि यमेतमत्थं । एतं ते पब्रूमि इतोनिदानं ॥९॥

1 निं०फस्सं निदानं:

866°=868°=Mvu. III. 214. 3. कोधो मृषावादकथंकथा च ।

(10) "The contacts in the world—what are they due to?
 The graspings of worldly objects—how do they arise?
 From what we may expect 'my-ness' to be discounted
 (不計)?
 From what is it that there are graspings of the
 objects of the world?" (Sn. 871.)

(11) "Because of Name and Form do the contacts arise.
 Because of the pleasant, do the [wordly] objects take
 rise;
 Leaving ignorance behind, is deliverance (from 'my-
 ness') gained,
 When [worldly] objects exist, do the contacts assail."
 (Sn. 872, S.D.)

(12) "By the attainment of what does the good form
 (好色) cease?
 What is the source of all lovable things?
 The mind attached—how does it completely cease?
 Truly, methinks, to me, you [fain] would tell."
 (Sn. 873, except b.)

(13) "Neither conscious.¹⁴ nor with consciousness of the
 formless (不色想)
 Neither unconscious, nor with consciousness inactive¹⁵
 (不行想);
 Cutting off all consciousness, detached doth one get,
 For, in consciousness lies the root of all that is
 travail." (Sn. 874; S.D.)

(14) "Whatever I have asked, all that ye have explained;
 Further, I question and answer do I crave.

¹⁴ This verse is quoted in the Abhidharma-Mahāvibhāṣā, with the introductory remark: 'As it is said in Arthavarga.' See M. Anesaki 'Katam Karanīyam,' pp. 288-304; also Le Museon, vol. vii. (1906).

¹⁵ Here, in the Chinese translation, the terms *visamāsaṇī* and *vibhūtasāṇī* in Sn. 874a and b have got exchanged, the latter being used in a and the former in b.

871 फस्सो न लोकस्मि॑ कुतोनिदानो॑ । परिग्रहा चा॑पि कुतो पहूता॑ ।
किस्मि॑ असन्ते न ममत्तमतिथि॑ । किस्मि॑ विभूते न फुसन्ति॑ फस्सङ्॑ ॥१०॥

872 नामं च रूपं च पठिष्ठ फस्सा॑ । इच्छानिदानानि॑ परिग्रहानि॑ ।
इच्छा॑ न सन्त्या॑ न ममत्तमतिथि॑ । रूपे॑ विभूते न फुसन्ति॑ फस्सा॑ ॥११॥

873 कथं समेतस्स विभोति॑ रूपं । सुखं तुखं वाऽपि कथं विभोति॑ ।
एतं मे ब्रूहि॑ यथा॑ विभोति॑ । तं जानियाम॑ इति॑ मे मनो अहु॑ ॥१२॥

874 न सञ्चसञ्ची॑ न विसञ्चसञ्ची॑ । नोऽपि असञ्ची॑ न विभूतसञ्ची॑ ।
एवं समेतस्स विभोति॑ रूपं । सञ्चानिदाना॑ हि पपञ्चसङ्का॑ ॥१३॥

1 वाऽपि. 2-2 म०, नि०- इच्छायऽसन्त्या. 3 म०-जानिस्साम.

*=अर्थपद ११.

872^a cf. D. XV. 20. नामरूपपञ्चयाफस्सो.

874 also in the Mahā Vibhāṣā (Anesaki A. A. O.).

874^a cf. M. 18th Sutta. सञ्चापञ्चतिया॑ सति॑ वित्कपञ्चतिं॑ पञ्चोपस्सतीति॑
ठानमेतं॑ विज्ञति॑, वित्कपञ्चतिया॑ सति॑ पपञ्चसञ्चासंखा॑-समुदाचरण-पञ्चतिं॑
पञ्चापेस्सतीति॑ ठानमेतं॑ विज्ञति॑ । 875^a cf. J. 546⁴⁰,

Treating all [wordly things] as nothing but saliva
(? 行 涕¹⁶), and reaching the acme of success,
Is he firmly settled or not as a Victorious Saint?"
(Sn. 875 S.D.)

(15) "Rightly set is he! wrong how can he be?
Hallowed doth he become, and Wisdom's Fruit doth
he gain.
Practising the trance in the midst of the grove,
The Saint doth declare, as best, [the Nīrvāṇa]
with substratum none (Sn. 876.)

(16) With knowledge like this and in concentration steeped,
From rites and rituals, is the saint already detached;
With querries that he makes, through the world doth
he wade,
All worldly lives he cuts off and remains with his body
(immaculate)." (Sn. 877, d diff.)

The Buddha concluded this *Arthapada Sūtra* and the mendicants expressed joy and approbation.

Thus ends the First Fascicule of the
Arthapada Sūtra
spoken by the Buddha.

16 The meaning of this character is spit or saliva. So we have construed the sentence as above. This idea is common in Buddhist books Pali *khela*, San. *Kheṭa*

Cf. "Se y u a t h ā' pi, Brāhmaṇa, balavā puriso jivhagge kheṭapīṇḍam saṇyūhitvā appakasireneva vameyya, evameva kho, Brāhmaṇa, kheṭapīṇḍūpamaṇi jivitaṇi manussānaṇi parittam lahukam bahudukkham bahu'pāyāsam. Mantāya boddhabbaṇi, kattabbam kusalam, caritabbam brahmaṇariyam, nathi jātassa amaraṇam (A. iv. 137); also "Seyyathā pi, Ānanda, balavā puriso...vameyya...(M. iii. 300).

Also Av. ii. 113 *Kheṭavadutṣṭya*; Siksā. 193 *Prahāya rājyaṇ yatha kheṭapīṇḍam*.

875 यं तं अपुच्छिम अकित्तयो¹ नो । अङ्गं तं पुच्छाम तदिङ्गु ग्रूहि ।

एत्तावतग्नं नो वदन्ति हेके । यक्षस्स सुख्दिं इधं पण्डितासे ।

उदाहु अङ्गं पि वदन्ति एतो ॥१४॥

876 एत्तावतग्नं पि वदन्ति हेके । यक्षस्स सुख्दिं इधं पण्डितासे ।

तेसं पुनेके समयं वदन्ति । अनुपादिसेसे कुसला वदना ॥१५॥

877 एते च अत्वा उपनिस्ताति । अत्वा मुनी² निस्तये सो विमंसी ।

अत्वा विमुक्तो न विवादमेति । भवाभवाय न समेति धीरोति ॥१६॥

कलहविवादसुतं निष्टितं ।

— — —

1 म०-अकित्तयि.

2 म०-मुनि.

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